United Nations S/PV.3595

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3595th Meeting

Wednesday, 22 November 1995, 4 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Al-Khussaiby	(Oman)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in the former Yugoslavia

95-86774 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the former Yugoslavia

The President: I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Colombia, Croatia, Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Malaysia, Morocco, Norway, Pakistan, the Republic of Korea, Slovenia, Spain, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey and Ukraine, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The President: I welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Karsgaard (Canada), Mr. Londoño-Paredes (Colombia), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Owada (Japan), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Snoussi (Morocco), Mr. Biørn Lian (Norway), Mr. Kamal (Pakistan), Mr Park (Republic of Korea), Mr. Türk (Slovenia), Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain), Mr. Maleski (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), Mr. Celem (Turkey) and Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: I have received a request dated 22 November 1995 from Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic to address the Council. With the consent of the Council, I would propose to invite him to take a seat at the Council table.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jovanovic took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/977, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Oman, Rwanda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America; and document S/1995/978, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Italy, the Russian Federation, Rwanda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/972, which contains the text of a letter dated 20 November 1995 from the Permanent Representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the two draft resolutions before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolutions to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting on both draft resolutions.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): The Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina endorsed by the parties yesterday at Dayton, Ohio, represents a historic turning-point in a bitter conflict that has beset the Balkans for the past four years. The British Government warmly welcomes this Agreement. That may sound a rather obvious statement. After all, as a member of the Contact Group, as the major contributor for much of this year of peace-keepers on the ground, and as one of the major contributors to the programme of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for

the former Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom has played a central role in the cumulative efforts over the past four years that led to this Agreement.

But even if that is an obvious statement, it still needs to be said loudly and clearly. There are already those among the parties who claim that this Agreement is unfair, that more could have been gained by continuing the fight. They prefer to dissociate themselves from what was agreed at Dayton, rather than grapple with the opportunities and difficulties it presents. I cannot and do not share their view. The British Government has always believed that a negotiated settlement was the only way in which lasting peace could be achieved. This Agreement preserves Bosnia as a single State. It lays the basis for strengthening its independence and security. It will allow — crucially — the people of Bosnia, including those who have been forced to flee their homes, to decide who should represent them. And it provides the basis for the restoration of stability throughout the entire Balkan region. It is for all these reasons that the British Government warmly welcomes this Agreement.

We also pay tribute to all those who helped to bring about the Agreement. The United States played the principal role at Dayton. We congratulate Secretary Christopher, Assistant Secretary Holbrooke and all those who worked so hard to achieve this Agreement. But it would not have been possible without the international community's collective determination to secure a negotiated settlement, without the dedication of past negotiators — most recently Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg — or of the European mediator Carl Bildt and the other Contact Group teams represented at Dayton. Nor could it have been achieved without the courage and perseverance of United Nations troops, the UNHCR and other agencies on the ground, and the commitment of Governments to make peace-keeping troops available in the first place.

In August last year, Belgrade took a significant step in deciding to close its border with the Bosnian Serbs until they were prepared to accept a negotiated settlement. This Council rightly responded by granting a limited package of sanctions relief, conditional on that border remaining closed. The existence of this Peace Agreement is the clearest possible vindication of this Council's use of economic sanctions to bring about change. It is therefore right that this Council should now reward Belgrade's contribution to the successful outcome of the Dayton negotiations by granting very substantial sanctions relief.

But this Council — rightly, in our view — is giving a conditional reward. The draft resolution before us holds out the prospect of the permanent removal of sanctions when the Agreement has been implemented and when free and fair elections have been held. It also holds out the prospect that sanctions relief can be taken away at any time should there be failure to cooperate over implementation. It is careful to avoid prejudicing the complex issue of succession to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which we hope the countries of the region will now address urgently in order to reach agreement on the disposal of assets. This draft resolution provides that frozen assets that are the subject of claims, including from any one of the successor States, shall remain frozen until the claims have been resolved. In this context, the British Government will, when implementing the resolution, interpret claims as meaning those raised in current legal proceedings, which we believe is the sense of this draft resolution.

As well as suspending sanctions, it is also right that this Council should allow a phased lifting of the arms embargo in the context of implementation of the Peace Agreement and given the shared interests of all the States in the region to conclude regional arms control arrangements. The British Government attaches particular importance to the conclusion of such arms-control arrangements and we expect those concerned strictly to uphold their obligations set out in the Annex to the Agreement on Regional Stabilization. This Council has seen several lively debates on the question of the arms embargo over the past few years. It remains a contentious issue. But there can be no doubt that both economic sanctions and the arms embargo played an important part in containing the conflict and persuading the parties to turn aside from the military option and to negotiate in earnest.

This Agreement, welcome though it is, will be worth little if it is not implemented urgently and in full by the parties. This will require dedication and perseverance. There will be many difficulties along the way. But the parties must remain determined to see this task through, because their only alternative is a slide back into the suffering and misery of the past four years.

The next step is for the parties to sign the Agreement at the conference to be held in Paris in the near future. That will help open the way for an implementation force to deploy and for the civilian implementation structures to take shape, but in turn, the parties need to be able to count on the active involvement

of the international community in helping them implement this Agreement. We are ready to play our part. There is likely to be a very substantial British contribution, including by making troops available to take part in the implementation force. We will also be working with our European partners to support international efforts to promote the voluntary return of refugees, the monitoring of human rights, the holding of free and fair elections and the promotion of long-term economic reconstruction.

So that this work can go forward smoothly, the British Government will convene a peace-implementation conference in London in the very near future, so that those Governments, organizations and agencies most involved in implementation can work out the practicalities of how best this should be done. The United Nations will play an important role in those arrangements and we look forward to the Secretary-General's taking part in the London conference.

There is one very important aspect of this Council's policy towards the situation in Bosnia that is only briefly referred to in the draft resolutions before us. That is the work of the International Tribunal. It remains more important than ever, now that peace is truly in prospect for Bosnia, that all sides cooperate fully with the Tribunal, for, if reconciliation is one of the vital ingredients in the process of rebuilding a war-torn society, then that process must also include a place for justice. No Government — Serbian, Croatian or indeed any other — should suppose that it is at liberty to obstruct the Tribunal's work. Less than two weeks ago, for example, this Council demanded, *inter alia*, that the Bosnian Serb authorities cooperate in the efforts to establish the fate of thousands of civilians missing from Srebrenica. Nothing that happened at Dayton yesterday should be allowed to eclipse the need to establish the facts in such cases and to ensure that justice in the end prevails.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): The Agreement of Dayton is a major achievement and an important step forward. We are grateful to all those who have made it possible. Imperfect as it may be, it represents the best chance in a long time for a durable peace in the region. All sides have had to make painful concessions. Nobody is entirely satisfied with the outcome. That is a sign that the Agreement as a whole has a realistic basis. We therefore urge the parties to be steadfast in their acceptance and pursuit of a peace as outlined in the Agreement and in its implementation.

When we say this, we think of all the victims of the war in former Yugoslavia. We think of innocent men, women and children who were killed senselessly. Our thoughts go to the missing men and boys of, in particular, Srebrenica, Zepa and the Banja Luka region. We honour the Blue Helmets who gave their lives for peace. Their sacrifice and suffering bestow an enormous responsibility upon all those who have to implement the Dayton Agreement in good faith. The signatories and other parties to the Agreement must fully use the present opportunity, which offers the best of all the possible conditions for peace.

We warn, however, against too much optimism. Much difficulty still lies ahead. The decision to make peace will be put to many trials. At the same time, we share the feeling of others that the current intensity of the mediation and negotiation effort — almost an overstretch — cannot continue indefinitely. The parties must realize in word and deed: it is essentially themselves, and not the international community, who must build a durable peace, who must fill the Peace Agreement with life and make it a success.

The draft resolutions on, respectively, the lifting of the arms embargo and the suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia mark the first step of the implementation of the Peace Agreement reached in Dayton. By our decision today, the arms embargo will be lifted in three phases. It covered attacker and defender, aggressor and aggressed simultaneously. It was, therefore, not always easy to reconcile it with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

As did the arms embargo, the economic sanctions as well proved to be important in the peace process. We share the view of Ambassador Cárdenas, the Chairman of the Sanctions Committee on the former Yugoslavia, that our common experience confirms that the sanctions regime has essentially been effective.

Neighbouring States and the international community have contributed to the implementation of the sanctions. That is why we pay a special tribute to those neighbouring States which have been affected by them. We are aware that they had to sever important commercial and transport links. At the same time, they had to cope with preserving economic stability and continuing economic market- reform programmes.

We acknowledge also the contribution of all those who were involved in the sanctions implementation apparatus: the European Union/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (EU/OSCE) Sanctions

Coordinator; the Sanctions Liaison Office, SAMCOMM, at the European Union Commission Headquarters in Brussels; the International Sanctions Assistance Missions stationed in the neighbouring countries; the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia (ICFY) mission; the Western European Union (WEU) operation on the Danube; and the "Sharp-Guard" North Atlantic Treaty Organization/Western European Union (NATO/WEU) operation in the Adriatic Sea. We share the view that until the complete termination of the sanctions regime these instruments must be kept intact. We also hope that the experience gathered will make similar operations — should they ever become necessary — more effective in future.

The defreezing of funds and assets which can be allocated to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will, hopefully, enable it to re-establish trade links and commerce with other countries right from the start once the sanctions are suspended. At the same time, the draft resolution requests that assets and funds that are subject to third-party claims — mainly claims from the other successor States of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia — remain frozen or impounded. We will take all measures with respect to those assets and funds to ensure that they remain impounded in accordance with the applicable law, and thus protect the interests of the other successor States. With regard to conflicting claims of the successor States, we urge them to seek an agreement on the distribution of disputed funds and assets and the allocation of liabilities in general as soon as possible. This would make it possible to use released funds and assets for a positive development of the economy in the countries concerned and the region as a whole.

We appeal to the international community to continue to do all it can to further the successful completion of the peace process. Let us remember that the military implementation of the agreement — that is, the separation of forces, the cease-fire and the agreement on arms-control measures — is one important aspect. The civilian reconstruction effort led by the new High Representative is another. The economic benefits of peace will be decisive in showing what there is to gain by proceeding on the path to peace and what there is to lose by choosing war.

Germany will do its part. We have, in the past, been intensively involved in the negotiation efforts of the international Contact Group. We have contributed to the talks in Dayton in a number of ways. We place special emphasis on the human rights aspects of the Agreement, on the responsibility of States to cooperate with the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and on the possibility for refugees to return to their original homes. We identify closely with the provisions of the Federation Treaty, which we helped elaborate.

Germany particularly stresses the importance of substantial arms control agreements as outlined in Annex 1 B of the Peace Agreement to offset the danger of the lifting of the arms embargo triggering a new arms race in the region. The military balance in the region should be established at the lowest possible level.

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has, therefore, asked me to inform the Council about his intention to invite all parties concerned to a first meeting on arms control in Bonn, at the earliest possible date. We want to give an initial momentum to these crucial negotiations under the auspices of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe as envisaged by the "Agreement on Regional Stabilization" as contained in Annex 1 B of the Peace Agreement.

A last, but important, point: In reaffirming our support and sympathy to our French allies, we will continue to follow closely the fate of the two missing French pilots.

Germany will vote in favour of the two draft resolutions.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): Yesterday, a demarcation line was drawn between war and peace in the former Yugoslavia. After four years of bloody conflict, which have inflicted immense suffering on the people of the region, on a scale unparalleled in Europe since the Second World War, we are finally poised to embark on a new and promising stage in the unfolding peace process.

We welcome the initialling in Dayton, Ohio, of the General Framework for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and would like to pay a warm tribute to all those who have directly and indirectly contributed to the efforts in bringing peace to the territories of the former Yugoslavia. It is due to their unfailing determination to sustain their endeavours even in the face of difficult challenges that the talks in Dayton came to a successful conclusion.

While the Agreement constitutes a milestone in the efforts towards the attainment of a comprehensive peace in the former Yugoslavia, it is to be recognized that the solution to the conflict as agreed in Dayton is perhaps

less than what fairness and justice require. This is especially true in view of the fact that some of the basic elements contained in the Agreement reflect a virtual recognition of the gains and losses as a consequence of the war. We should be under no illusion that Bosnia and Herzegovina is the real victim of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

That being said, it is our fervent hope that the parties will make the Agreement work and that this Agreement will lead to the achievement of the ultimate goal not only of preserving Bosnia and Herzegovina as a single State under international law, but also of preserving the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina as one nation.

The Council has before it today two draft resolutions on the termination of the arms embargo and the suspension of sanctions imposed by the relevant Security Council resolutions. It is incumbent upon the Council to decide urgently on these two draft resolutions, which form part of the overall agreement reached in Dayton.

Over the past four years, the delegation of Indonesia has consistently called on the Security Council to pronounce itself unequivocally on the non-applicability of Security Council resolution 713 (1991) to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The arms embargo imposed in 1991 on the former Yugoslavia had the unintended effect of freezing the advantage in weapons in favour of the Bosnian Serbs, who ruthlessly exploited it with harrowing consequences in human life and suffering. The Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was thus effectively denied its right to defend itself as enshrined in the Charter. We therefore decided to join in sponsoring the draft resolution on the termination of the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 713 (1991).

The tragic conflict in the former Yugoslavia cannot be expected to provide an infallible general thesis on the complex relationship between war and peace, between diplomacy and warfare or even between swords and ploughshares. But there are sufficient grounds to believe that stark military imbalance in favour of the Bosnian Serbs has helped to sustain their aggression and that the recent revitalization of the peace process cannot be entirely detached from the noticeably more determined response by the international community to Bosnian Serb violations of Security Council resolutions. It is therefore imperative to ensure that such conditions of sharp military imbalances, which have been so destabilizing in the past, are not allowed to repeat themselves.

However, military balance or parity is clearly something more complex than an objective or quantitative fact. More often than not, perceptions and mental constructs bear most heavily on a State's assessment of the absence or existence of military balance. We are familiar with the vicious cycle of insecurity and arms build-up generated by worst case scenarios of each other's intentions and capabilities. The international community must therefore seek to encourage mutual confidence and trust among the parties concerned in the former Yugoslavia. We have also come to appreciate that long-term stability can only be realized through confidence-building measures rather than by a massive arms build-up undertaken to compensate for perceived vulnerability and insecurity. In this regard, we note the commitment of the parties set out in Annex 1B (Agreement on Regional Stabilization) of the Peace Agreement, including the arms control agreement contained therein, and hope that this instrument will contribute toward peace and security in the region.

We are sensitive to the inherent limitations of sanctions as an instrument to maintain or restore international security. Nevertheless, as regards the situation in the former Yugoslavia, it is our view that the Council has succeeded in clearly defining the objectives of the application of sanctions. The sanctions imposed by the Security Council were not punitive measures designed to inflict hardship and pain on the people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but were intended to encourage the Government in Belgrade to modify its policy by playing a constructive role in the peace process commensurate with its influence in the region.

My delegation believes that the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have contributed to its adoption of a more realistic and balanced approach to the peace talks. Rather than remaining peripheral to the important considerations involved in the peace process, its Government became far more actively engaged, as demonstrated by its constructive input during negotiation of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The delegation of Indonesia welcomes the positive role which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has recently played in the peace process and hence deems it appropriate for the Council to suspend the sanctions imposed against it. At the same time, however, we would like to emphasize that the continuation of the suspension of sanctions is contingent upon the fulfilment by the authorities in Belgrade and by the Bosnian Serbs of their

obligations under the Peace Agreement. With regard to the provisions contained in the draft resolution relating to funds and assets frozen or impounded by the Security Council resolutions, my delegation would like to underscore the need for caution. It is our view that funds or assets should not be unfrozen prematurely, inasmuch as such hasty action may preempt a consensual agreement among the successor States as to the disposition of such funds and assets.

While my delegation is optimistic that the peace process has the potential to lead towards meaningful progress as a consequence of the agreements reached in Dayton, we are also cognizant of the myriad challenges and difficulties that flow from these agreements. Clearly, various aspects of the agreements reached in Dayton still require the Council's urgent and careful consideration aimed at securing decisions which not only meet the challenges and tasks emanating from the field, but are also consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

With specific reference to the proposed international force to implement the peace accord (IFOR), we feel that the legitimacy and credibility as well as the ultimate success of this force will, to a large extent, be influenced by the process or manner by which the Council reaches its ultimate decisions. Transparency, consultation and consensus should be the minimum criteria in guiding these critical and urgent decisions of the Council. We are confident that through such a participatory process, the decisions reached by the Council, including those relating to the mandate and composition of the prospective IFOR, will enjoy the level of support necessary for its success.

It is my delegation's view that the Security Council should be fully exposed to all ongoing deliberations on the subject of the formation of IFOR by being informed of such discussions and, above all, by being directly involved in this process at the earliest stage of the policy conception and formulation. In this way, at the appropriate time, the Council will be sufficiently prepared to engage its full potential in future deliberations directed towards reaching a decision on IFOR following the conclusion of a peace agreement among the parties concerned.

Before concluding, I should like to convey my delegation's fervent hope that the historic outcome of the talks in Dayton and the subsequent formal signing of a comprehensive settlement will usher in a new era, one which would allow the healing process to begin, so that the people of the region will be able to resume peaceful, secure and productive lives.

In the light of these considerations, my delegation will vote in favour of the two draft resolutions before the Security Council. We expect that the adoption of these draft resolutions will make a positive contribution to the ongoing peace process by affirming the Council's readiness to fulfil its responsibilities under the Charter in an expeditious and effective manner.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): After various setbacks in the Bosnian peace process, the leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina have finally reached a comprehensive Peace Agreement, which represents a breakthrough in the process of the political settlement of the Bosnian question and creates important conditions for the settlement of the crisis in the region of the former Yugoslavia. The Chinese delegation welcomes this development. We have all along followed closely the developments in the region, particularly those in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and believe that the initialling of the Peace Agreement serves the fundamental interests of all peoples in the region and contributes to peace and stability in Europe and the world as a whole.

As a Chinese saying goes, "Peace at home brings prosperity; peace in the country promises success". The initialling of the Peace Agreement has reflected the war-weariness of the people in the region and their sincere desire for peace and a tranquil life at an early date. However, we have also noted that the initialling of the Agreement is just the start of a comprehensive political settlement of the question of the former Yugoslavia. It is essential to implement the Agreement in order to translate the desire for peace into reality. We therefore hope that the parties concerned will cherish this hard-won peace opportunity by implementing the Agreement in earnest so as to end for good the four-year war, thus restoring peace to the region and enabling all ethnic groups and countries in the region to live in amity. We hope that the international community will create favourable conditions for the implementation of the Agreement.

The international community, the Security Council in particular, has all along made unremitting political and diplomatic efforts to push forward the peace process in the region of the former Yugoslavia. We are of the view that any action taken by the Council at this critical turn for the better in the peace process should contribute to, rather than undermine, the consolidation of the negotiation results and the realization of peace and stability at an early date, so as to enable the people in the

region to live and work in peace and contentment. Still less should it trigger an arms race. We fear that lifting the arms embargo now might have an adverse impact on peace and stability in the region.

China has never been in favour of exerting pressure by means of sanctions in the region of the former Yugoslavia, and stands for an early lifting of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The tremendous efforts made the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to promote the Bosnian peace process should be acknowledged by the international community. It should be pointed out that it is extremely inappropriate to link the lifting of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the holding of elections in Bosnia. Such a practice is unheard of. We believe that this will set a bad precedent and therefore express our serious reservations, which we request to have placed on record. We also deem it necessary to consider addressing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's status in the United Nations after the Peace Agreement is signed by all parties.

Based on our principled position of supporting the peaceful settlement of the question of the former Yugoslavia, and considering the attitude of the parties concerned and the desire of the non-aligned countries, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the two draft resolutions before us.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a friendly country with which Nigeria enjoyed years of fruitful and mutually beneficial relations. We have therefore supported all the peace efforts and diplomatic initiatives that have been aimed at reaching a comprehensive resolution of the crisis in the country. As testimony to that concern, my country was one of the very first to contribute a battalion of troops to the initial United Nations peace-keeping operation deployed in Croatia in 1992; even now our personnel are part of the military observer component of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Furthermore, since joining the Security Council my delegation has supported all well-meaning proposals, either in the form of resolutions or presidential statements, that have been adopted by the Council with the aim of moving the peace process forward.

It was in this context that we supported the proximity talks that were recently concluded in Dayton, Ohio, here in the United States. And today my delegation is happy to join in welcoming the initialling, on 21 November 1995, of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Annexes thereto by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the other parties thereto. We are particularly delighted that the three leaders did not allow the opportunity offered by the Dayton talks to slip away, despite enormous difficulties and hurdles to transcend.

This development, in our view, represents an important breakthrough in the peace process. Although it is just one step in what undoubtedly remains a long and difficult journey to peace, we none the less believe it represents the best opportunity thus far to end the conflict. We therefore call upon all the parties to sign the General Peace Agreement, when the signing takes place, as expected, in Paris in a few weeks' time. In the meantime, we urge them to refrain from any activities that could destabilize the fragile truce on the ground.

My delegation would also like to pay deserved tribute to all the States and Governments that have worked assiduously for peace in the region. We must pay special tribute to our Secretary-General and the Secretariat for their tireless efforts in the cause of peace.

The General Peace Agreement requires a lot more work and painstaking negotiations in the weeks and months ahead if we are to make the peace process truly irreversible. We therefore hope that all parties will deploy the necessary efforts in this regard.

The two draft resolutions before us are testimony to the Security Council's concern for the situation in the former Yugoslavia as well as the readiness of its members to give all the necessary assistance and support to the parties by creating an enabling environment that will assist them to implement the Agreement. To this extent, and consistent with my Government's position, my delegation is able to go along with the thrust of the draft resolutions as a package that is meant to underpin the Peace Agreement and thus promote the overriding goal of peace and stability in a region that has recently been ravaged by war. Let me, however, make the following specific comments with regard to each of the draft resolutions.

Concerning the draft resolution on the lifting of the arms embargo, my delegation hopes that none of the parties will view this as a license to relaunch any military campaign. We would like to hope that the lifting of the arms embargo will play a positive and reassuring role by ensuring that all the States of the region will have the means to defend their respective sovereignty and

territorial integrity. In this regard, Annex 1 B of the Agreement, concerning regional stabilization, is a necessary and important corollary to the lifting of the arms embargo, and we urge all those concerned to abide by the spirit as well as the letter of that Annex.

With respect to the suspension of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), this is consistent with our belief that sanctions should not be punitive in and of themselves, but should be designed to modify the behaviour of Governments. We would hope that this flexible approach to the question of sanctions would be applied to other sanctions regimes, as objective conditions on the ground do change.

Later today we shall, hopefully, be adopting a draft resolution on the Basic Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium, which was signed on 12 November 1995, between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb representatives. Let me say that my delegation welcomes the Agreement and calls upon the parties to it to implement fully their commitments thereunder.

As we look ahead to the next crucial phase of the peace process — that of the actual implementation on the ground of the various aspects of the agreement, which will entail a reconfiguration of the force that will oversee its implementation — my delegation at this stage would like to thank all those who have served under UNPROFOR for their tireless sacrifice in stabilizing the situation and saving perhaps thousands of lives. Without their efforts, the conditions in the Balkans could have been worse, and would have been worse, and a conducive climate for the recent peace talks may not have been created.

In concluding, my delegation hopes that the parties in conflict in the former Yugoslavia will now give peace a chance. They must translate the promise of peace on paper into peace in action, and it is only in this way that the international community will be in a better position to help concretely in building lasting peace in that region.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Today we meet on a happy occasion by any standards — except that the name of Dayton, having become a part of history, will cause difficulties to future generations of schoolchildren.

We have, indeed, had precious few occasions to celebrate anything concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Council in recent years. We may not have the end of the war, but we do have the beginning of peace. The next weeks and months will show how this beginning will unfold. It will show which of all the complex arrangements of Dayton will live, even flourish, and whether any will die on the vine.

The Security Council has been sidelined for several months when it comes to the former Yugoslavia, at least since the Contact Group assumed the initiative in dealing with that part of the world. It was, of course, the formidable resources of United States diplomacy and military might which brought about and pulled off Dayton. We sincerely congratulate all concerned. Our own role here in the Council is one of a supporting actor: to undo, now that peace is looming, measures which we adopted in very different circumstances.

My country is pleased to have co-sponsored the draft resolution providing for the suspension and eventual termination of economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and, in due course, Bosnian Serb territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The easing of sanctions is deliberate and leaves open ways for reversing the suspension should the subjects of the sanctions fail in taking the steps anticipated of them in Dayton.

Our sanctions draft mentions compliance with the requests and orders of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia as constituting an essential aspect of implementing the Peace Agreement. This mention appears in the preamble, but not in the operative section of the draft. My delegation would warn, however, against interpreting this fact as diminishing its importance. In resolution after resolution the Council has insisted on individual responsibility of perpetrators of "ethnic cleansing". We have never abandoned this insistence. Individual responsibility, established by and punished by the International Tribunal, is necessary not only for justice to be done, but also to prevent the emergence in Bosnia and Herzegovina of a culture of impunity, a culture which leaves victims and their children with a feeling that if any justice is to be done they have to seek it themselves, thus sowing the wind which will possibly yield another whirlwind of war.

One of the difficult open issues among the south Slav States is the matter of succession. The draft rightly stresses the need for successors to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reach necessary agreements on the distribution of funds and assets. The Czech Republic has some experience of peaceably

dividing countries and their assets and would, I am sure, gladly provide advice about how to go about it.

The phased lifting of the arms embargo may be viewed as the obverse of the removal of sanctions. My Government, however, is uncertain whether lifting the embargo three months into a peace, a peace which will be so new an experience for all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is absolutely indispensable — and this, at a time when tens of thousands of defenders of peace, namely, the implementation force, will be pouring into the country. Serious discussions are under way even as I speak which should lead to a serious and substantive contribution of Czech soldiers to the implementation force. We would hate to suffer any casualties resulting from a freshly legal inflow of arms into the cauldron of killing that is Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In all, though, my delegation will vote in favour of both draft resolutions before us.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): The delegation of Botswana welcomes the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina concluded and initialled yesterday by the Presidents of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is indeed a historic agreement that promises to bring to an end three and half years of a brutal conflict, three and half years of one of the most devastating wars in the history of modern Europe, a war which is estimated to have claimed close to a quarter of a million innocent lives.

It is our ardent hope that after almost four years of a painful and tortuous war the peoples of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are now ready to resolve their differences amicably and to live with each other as good neighbours. It is also our hope that the initialling and consequent signature of the Agreement will be not an end in themselves, but the beginning of a process that will bring about peace and stability in that war-ravaged country.

In fact, all the peoples of former Yugoslavia are yearning for peace. It is clear, however, that peace will only come if they can learn to tolerate one another and adopt live-and-let-live attitudes towards one another. It is time they realized that the right to existence of one ethnic group is not a negation of the right of other groups to existence, nor should it necessarily present a threat to such existence. It is only with that realization that coexistence in that area and mutual trust will return tc former Yugoslavia.

As early as 25 September 1991 the Security Council adopted resolution 713 (1991), which imposed a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia. The idea was to restrict the flow of arms to the conflicting parties and minimize the possibility of a wider conflagration in the Balkans. We therefore find it a bit ironic that the Agreement allows for the lifting of the arms embargo before there is certainty of durable peace. We are a little worried that the amassing of weapons by the parties may lead to the reigniting of the conflict. None the less, we appreciate that the situation on the ground has changed, and there is no cause for alarm, at least for now. My delegation therefore has no problem supporting the draft resolution on the lifting of the arms embargo.

My delegation will also vote in favour of the draft resolution on the suspension of sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The sanctions were imposed to pressure the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to accept political dialogue as opposed to the logic of war, and now that this objective has been realized we feel it is indeed time the sanctions were suspended and, finally, lifted.

We recognize that much remains to be done to secure peace in the Balkans. The resolve of the parties to remain committed to a peaceful settlement of their differences is the only way forward. They need our continuous encouragement and persuasion. Our support for the suspension of the sanctions until such time as the Peace Agreement is implemented should be understood in this context. It is our hope that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will do everything in its power to ensure that the implementation of the Peace Agreement progresses without let or hindrance, which would in turn open the way for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to take its rightful place in the family of nations.

Although we welcome the Peace Agreement, we still face imponderables. We do not as yet have a full appreciation of what the Agreement really entails, nor do we know what the parties themselves believe they have achieved. This could have a bearing on the implementation of the Agreement. We also believe that at an appropriate time in the near future the Security Council will have to hold substantive discussions on the role of the United Nations in the implementation of the General Framework Agreement, including the authorization of a multinational force, its mandate, composition and command-and-control structure and the

nature of the relationship that would be established between the United Nations and the Force Commander for purposes of coordination and information flow. In other words, there are several questions in our minds that still beg for answers, and we hope the answers will not be long in coming. Indeed, there is a particular, nagging question to which we desperately seek an answer: are those who have been indicted for the commission of acts of genocide now beyond the reach of the arm of the law? Have they been saved by the Dayton agreements?

In conclusion, let me congratulate the parties on a fruitful and worthwhile three weeks of negotiations in Dayton, Ohio. They have given their people a promise of peace and, hopefully, a future free of war and human suffering. We can only request them fully to honour the commitments they have made and translate into concrete action what they have agreed on paper.

I should like also to pay a well-deserved tribute to the mediators for their determination and perseverance, even when the negotiations appeared to falter. The Government of the United States deserves a pat on the back for a job well done. It worked very hard to reconcile what appeared irreconcilable, which says a lot about its diplomatic skills.

And lastly, a special word of deep appreciation to the men and women of the United Nations Peace Forces, under the able leadership of our Secretary-General. They did a wonderful job in very trying circumstances, and in the process many of them lost their precious lives. They definitely deserved better.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation welcomed with great satisfaction the news of the initialling yesterday in Dayton, Ohio, of the General Framework Agreement for Peace and the Annexes thereto by the leaders of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is to put an end to more than three years of bloody conflict that has claimed almost a quarter of a million lives in that part of the world. The imminent formal signing of the Peace Agreement and the fulfilment of the commitments envisaged will undoubtedly lead to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Balkans region and to a new era in which trust and mutual cooperation will erase forever the anguish and suffering caused by the war.

The delegation of Honduras has on a number of occasions stated in the Council its position in favour of a negotiated political settlement to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia that would preserve the territorial integrity of all the States of the region within their internationally recognized borders. Accordingly, we welcome the Peace Agreement's provision that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue to be a sovereign State within its existing international borders. But we have all the more reason to hail the parties' agreement to guarantee the utmost respect for human rights and their decision to cooperate fully in the investigation and punishment of war crimes, which we have unswervingly condemned.

Now that the parties have succeeded in arriving at a lasting peace settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this will for peace must be translated into specific actions, in full compliance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement and the Annexes thereto. In this respect, we believe that the decisions that the Council will soon have to take will assist in this process. However, we recognize that the situation in the region still constitutes a threat to international peace and security. For this reason, we support the ending of the embargo on arms and military equipment imposed by resolution 713 (1991), on the conditions stipulated in the draft resolution that we will be adopting, and an indefinite suspension of the measures imposed by the Council, in particular on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and on the Bosnian Serb party, on the conditions that are also spelt out in the pertinent draft resolution.

Honduras hopes that the commitments reached in Dayton, Ohio, will be successfully fulfilled, for the sake of peace in the successor States of the former Yugoslavia and in the world. As a sponsor of both draft resolutions, we will be voting in favour of them.

We wish to express our deep appreciation to the Contact Group — and in particular to the Government of the United States of America — for its tireless diplomatic efforts to bring about a negotiated peace for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also appreciate the important contribution made by the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other intergovernmental missions.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian Federation welcomes the initialling in Dayton by the parties to the Bosnian conflict of the package of documents on the peace settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A major step has been taken towards a comprehensive settlement of the most tragic conflict to have taken place in post-war Europe. Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany

and the European Union, acting in concert in the framework of the Contact Group, have done some solid work. The United Nations assistance at various stages of the peace process was an important factor in achieving progress. We would like to pay a tribute to the courageous personnel of the United Nations Forces, who carried out their mandate in extremely difficult circumstances.

Four years after the beginning of the tragedy in the Balkans, we can conclude only that nothing has come of this conflict but grief, suffering and devastation. There were no victors in this conflict, nor could there be any. Everyone has lost — the Serbs, the Croatians, the Muslims and Europe as a whole.

We would like to pay tribute to the spirit of realism and of profound responsibility to their peoples that was displayed by the leaders of the States parties to the conflict. They mustered sufficient strength and courage to rise above their enmities and to make the difficult choice in favour of peace — the only correct one.

What is now essential is for the parties to sign forthwith the Agreement that has been reached and to start faithfully to implement them. In this regard, they will be answerable to their peoples and the international community. Only by continuing political dialogue and seeking compromise, taking account of the interests and equal rights of all, can there be durable peace in this region.

Before us lies the difficult process of implementing the Peace Agreement, the final parameters of which still need to be spelled out. In this connection, I would like to recall that the Russian side, when initialling the Agreement in Dayton, reserved its position regarding military implementation. On this matter, Russia continues to entertain serious doubts, in particular with regard to the absence of the necessary political control on the part of the Security Council over the military operation. But we will, of course, be returning to this question.

As an active participant in the Dayton talks, Russia intends to continue contributing to the development of the peace process and will be prepared to continue discussing the military aspect of the settlement both on a multilateral and a bilateral basis.

We attach particular importance to the fact that immediately after the initialling of the Agreement in Dayton the provision of the draft resolution before us relating to the indefinite suspension of economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and the Republic of Serbia should come into operation. This is an extremely important step, albeit belated. We remain convinced that the conditions for the final lifting of the sanctions were met long ago, when the demands of resolution 757 (1992) were met and Belgrade actively joined in the efforts of the Contact Group on the Bosnian settlement; it has now guaranteed the adoption of the peace plan. While welcoming the end of the economic blockade against Yugoslavia and declaring our readiness to promote comprehensive cooperation between our States to rebuild the region, we believe that this is all the more timely since the humanitarian crisis there, of an unprecedented scale, has worsened considerably in recent months due to the influx into the FRY of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Croatia and Bosnia, which requires the adoption of immediate steps to relieve their plight.

The draft resolution, of which Russia is a co-sponsor, is a balanced document which envisages various situations, including unfavourable scenarios in the development of the situation, including the possibility of the reintroduction of sanctions if there should be any gross violation of the commitments made under the Peace Agreement. To this end, it provides that reports be made to the Security Council after joint consultations of senior leaders of the international military and civilian structures in Bosnia. The Security Council may take its own decision, depending on who is responsible for such violations.

The other draft resolution, on the lifting of the military embargo, has certain merits. First and foremost, this represents an even approach to all parties in the light of the phased removal of restrictions on the supply of weapons and also in the light of the fact that the text includes, at our insistence, the obligation of the Security Council to exercise control over measures to prevent an arms race in the region. This should also be helped by the work of the Sanctions Committee, to which the draft resolution has issued corresponding instructions.

Nevertheless, despite these merits, this draft resolution raises serious doubts and concerns for the Russian Federation. This is because neither the spirit nor the letter of the text follow the logic of the political process, which is aimed at ending military confrontation in the region. This has already been mentioned by several of my colleagues today. We believe that the Balkans should never again pose a threat to international security and stability. Therefore, we are in favour not of an arms

build-up in the region, but of a restriction and reduction of arms. Furthermore, we would have preferred the draft to provide for a more clear-cut mechanism to operate in the event the peace process should be derailed. We believe that in this matter a more carefully considered and responsible approach was needed, particularly since these are serious matters whose significance goes well beyond the confines of the region itself. Of particular importance in this connection will be the reports from the Secretary-General to the Security Council to the effect that the parties are in fact fulfilling their obligations on arms limitation. We look forward to such reports.

In view of the amendments made to the draft resolution and the fact that it is an integral part of the Agreement package approved in Dayton by the leaders of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the FRY, the Russian delegation, although unable to associate itself with this draft resolution, will abstain in the voting.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/977.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

Russian Federation

The President: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1021 (1995).

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/978.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1022 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Dejammet (France) *(interpretation from French):* France, through its highest authorities, immediately welcomed the successful outcome of the talks in Dayton under the auspices of the Contact Group, which is a decisive stage in the progress towards peace.

This success is the fruit of the efforts of the Contact Group negotiators and an illustration of the courage and vision of the parties, who in the final analysis chose the path towards reconciliation. The international conference shortly to be held in Paris will place the seal on the cycle of negotiations with the signing of the Peace Agreement and open the way for a process of stability and good neighbourliness.

France has spared no effort on the ground and in the diplomatic negotiations to contribute to this result. It remains determined to take steps to reaffirm the identity of a united, multicultural and democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina that can take its rightful place in Europe. It will continue to lend its full support to the establishment and maintenance of a fair and lasting peace.

Today, our thoughts go first and foremost to the refugees, those who have been forced onto the roads of exodus, and the relatives of the countless victims whose grief we share and whose will for justice we understand.

But how can we fail today also to pay tribute to those who, in the service of the United Nations, gave their lives in the former Yugoslavia? How can we fail to thank the neighbours of the parties to the conflict, which have had to bear a weighty burden to prevent the war from spreading and to ensure respect for the decisions of the international community? And how can we fail to express our gratitude to all the United Nations participants who, in circumstances that were always difficult and often thankless, worked tirelessly to save lives, strove to renew the dialogue and sustained the conditions for and hopes of a peaceful settlement?

The role of the United Nations has been and remains a vital one. The resolutions we have just adopted attest to that role. They turn a page of history: from the page of war to the page of peace. They are the first phase in the implementation of the final agreement, which the Council will be addressing in due course.

Four years ago the United Nations Security Council decided to impose an arms embargo in order to prevent the spread of the conflict. Today, we have just adopted a resolution which, in the very different context of the Dayton commitments, provides for the gradual lifting of that embargo.

Yet peace cannot be achieved through the arms race, but only through the quest for stability and arms control. That is why, in resolution 1021 (1995), the Council welcomes the commitments of the parties set out in the Agreement on Regional Stabilization, in terms of arms control, ceilings for categories of weapons and confidence-building measures. The lifting of the embargo will be phased. The Security Council will receive a report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Agreement on Regional Stabilization, and the Council will assume its responsibilities on the basis of that report. For once again it is important to couple peace with stability by seeking a balance in arms at a reduced level, rather than carrying on a destructive race to acquire new weapons.

Three years ago the Council decided to put in place a system of binding sanctions to enforce its decisions on a peaceful settlement. These sanctions have successively been tightened, eased and maintained. Today we are able to agree on the immediate suspension of the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a suspension that only a significant failure to comply with the provisions of the Agreement can cut short.

This decision reflects our assessment of the positive role played in recent months by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. France is particularly gratified by this decision, which will enable the population of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to return quickly to normal life, while affording the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the opportunity fully to rejoin the international community. In this connection, France supports the appeal to all States concerned to work promptly in the competent international forums to resolve issues relating to succession in the former Yugoslavia, with respect for the legitimate interests of all those States.

The suspension of the sanctions imposed on the Bosnian Serbs, once forces have been withdrawn to agreed lines, is another gesture of encouragement towards that community.

I wish, however, to recall in this connection a key provision to which France attaches the highest value. Resolution 1022 (1995), on sanctions, notes the Concluding Statement issued at Dayton, in which all parties undertook to do everything possible to assist in locating the two French pilots missing in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to ensure their immediate and safe return. This is a formal undertaking by the parties concerned, which we mean to see fulfilled. The resolution on sanctions refers to this undertaking in its paragraph 2. France will see to it that this provision is implemented. We are grateful for the solidarity and sympathy expressed in the Council.

The final lifting of sanctions can take place only after a certain lapse of time. Key phases of the Agreement will first have to be achieved. Respect for these phases will enable us to confirm the firm commitment of the Bosnian Serbs to a peaceful settlement of the conflict by democratic means.

The two resolutions the Council has adopted today constitute a balanced whole. They reflect the turning-point marked by the results achieved at Dayton. They provide a positive incentive to all parties to implement, faithfully and fully, the provisions of the Peace Agreement that will soon be signed at Paris. France is pleased at their adoption.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): We meet today to respond, on behalf of the international community, to the Peace Agreement initialled yesterday in Dayton, Ohio. The world can be grateful for the tireless diplomacy of Deputy Foreign Minister Ivanov, Foreign Minister Bildt and, I am proud to say, American diplomats led by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and by Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke.

Their efforts succeeded because the leaders of the three countries involved were willing to make the hard choices necessary to bridge past grievances and embrace future possibilities. Their efforts succeeded because of the prayers of average citizens in the region and around the world who have been horrified by the senseless suffering inflicted by this war. And their efforts succeeded because of the heroic humanitarian work of

United Nations peace-keepers from countries on this Council and from around the world.

For the Council, our task in adopting these resolutions is to provide the first concrete results reflecting the decisions of Dayton. Today we take another step down the long road towards peace. By lifting the arms embargo and suspending economic sanctions, we have kick-started that long journey, and we have given the parties the support they need to sign this historic Agreement and ensure its effective implementation.

After many years, after many debates, after many resolutions and after innumerable statements, this Council is today truly helping to make the promise of peace a reality.

The first of the two resolutions we have adopted provides for the phased lifting of the embargo on the sale or transfer of arms to States within the former Yugoslavia. Under the resolution, the arms embargo will remain in place for 90 days after a final Peace Agreement is signed. A prohibition on the transfer of heavy weapons will continue until 180 days have elapsed, or until the arms-control pact envisioned by the Agreement is signed. The Council will watch the effect of this regime with interest.

It is logical now, in the light of the events in Dayton, to lift the embargo against Bosnia. An embargo should not be maintained against a country whose only crime was to preserve its sovereignty, defend its people and sign every peace agreement put before it. Today we bring that injustice and folly to an end.

But now we must move beyond past debates to focus on the future. Our goal is to translate yesterday's promise of peace into tomorrow's enduring reality of peace. Our plan is to discourage an arms race and to encourage a stable balance of military power. Our desire is to nourish a conviction on all sides that negotiation, not confrontation, is the practical way to resolve disputes.

To these ends the Framework Agreement places restrictions on the military forces and heavy weapons of each party, it establishes an arms control mechanism, and it calls for talks to begin on measures to increase the confidence of all sides that no side will seek to evade or take military advantage of this Agreement.

I should also note that our action today will terminate the arms embargo for all the successor States that arose from the breakup of Yugoslavia, including the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The second resolution we adopted today suspends the economic sanctions that were imposed against Serbia and Montenegro. This is a conditional step. The sanctions will be reimposed if the Government in Belgrade fails to sign the formal Peace Agreement and the other parties do. Sanctions will also be reimposed if Belgrade or the Pale Serbs fail to meet their obligations under the Peace Agreement.

On this point, let me be clear. The international community must be vigilant in monitoring compliance with the terms of this agreement. We must insist that words on paper become facts on the ground, and we must heed the explicit language of this resolution, which notes that compliance with the requests and orders of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia — the war-crimes Tribunal — is an essential part of the agreement's implementation.

To answer the Ambassador of Botswana, let me say that the war criminals are not freed by Dayton. On the contrary, the obligations to cooperate with the war-crimes Tribunal are strengthened.

The suspension of sanctions under this resolution will not apply immediately to measures imposed on the Bosnian Serbs. Those measures will remain in effect until all Bosnian Serb military forces have withdrawn behind the zones of separation established in the Peace Agreement.

Especially given the statements we have heard from Pale over the past 24 hours, compliance by the Bosnian Serbs cannot be assumed. After the siege of Sarajevo, the market-place shelling, the years of "ethnic cleansing" and the unforgivable savagery at Srebrenica, the world has had enough of Bosnian Serb arrogance and brutality. Their compliance with this agreement must be demanded by the Government in Belgrade; it must be demanded by this Council; and it must be demanded by every civilized person on Earth.

The adoption of this resolution reflects not a change in policy but a change in circumstances. This Council imposed economic sanctions for the explicit purpose of encouraging Serbia to choose the path of peace. The sanctions appear to have achieved their purpose — far later than we would have hoped, but still earlier than some predicted. Indeed, this much-criticized sanctions

tool has proved critical in bringing about the decision in Dayton, and the leverage it brings us will continue to serve us well in the complicated task of implementation.

The terms of the resolution are calibrated to the realities of the situation in the former Yugoslavia. If the Government in Belgrade or the Pale Serbs fail to fulfil their obligations, the sanctions will be reimposed. With that unwelcome possibility in mind, my Government believes strongly that the infrastructure established and a cadre of personnel assigned to monitor sanctions enforcement should remain in place until sanctions are fully and finally lifted.

But this resolution also creates a strong incentive for the parties to act in accordance with the Framework Agreement. By so doing, the parties may free themselves and their citizens to pursue the hard but rewarding work of providing for the economic and social well-being of their societies. In that work, the United States and the international community are prepared to help all those truly committed to peace.

I note that in crafting this resolution the Council also sought to protect the interests of all the States that were part of the former Yugoslavia, including those not directly involved in the fighting. The resolution is not intended to allow any Member State currently blocking assets of the former Yugoslavia to release those assets where there exists the possibility of ownership, in whole or in part, by another successor State.

My Government believes there should be an orderly and equitable distribution of real and financial property of the former Yugoslavia between the successor States. To achieve this goal, successor States must be provided with sufficient notice of assets under consideration for release, to allow them an opportunity to submit claims before a decision is made with respect to the disposition of those assets. This could be accomplished through a registration, a census or some other orderly process whereby all parties are given an opportunity to claim ownership.

To this end, the United States does not intend to release any assets itself until all assets are examined against possible claims by the successor States and against outstanding commercial or private claims. We do not believe any asset should be considered releasable until it has been examined in these contexts.

The time has come for the voices of reason and simple human decency in the former Yugoslavia to prevail over the still-present apostles of intolerance and hate. We cannot underestimate the difficulties. Member States must do everything within their power to accelerate the momentum towards lasting peace, to discourage further outbreaks of aggression and to give those who want to live as neighbours, not enemies, the confidence to do so.

The lesson of the past four years is that war in this region produces no victors — only victims. This morning's newspaper quotes a 67-year-old woman in Sarajevo whose husband was killed by a shell while sitting on the balcony of their apartment two years ago. She said the agreement in Dayton "means a rebirth." She said,

> "I have been crying ever since I found out. ... We all just want peace and to be allowed out of the house to fetch our groceries without worrying about being shot." *(In Weary Bosnian Capital, Joy, and Tears for the Dead, The New York Times, 22 November 1995, p. A10)*

Yesterday's agreement in Dayton marked the end of one era in the Balkans, and the beginning of a new one. Let us do all we can to define this new era within a framework of law and justice — not as abstract principles, but as realities in the day-to-day lives of people throughout the region.

Let us do all we can to see that after years of fear and deprivation, Serb, Croat and Bosnian families — Serb, Croat and Bosnian children — are finally able to know the quiet miracle of a normal life.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): First of all, I wish to associate myself fully with the statement that the Permanent Representative of Spain is about to make on behalf of the European Union. I wish to add some comments to that statement.

For four long years Italy has anxiously followed the protraction of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country to which we are close geographically and with which we have close historical and cultural ties of long standing.

The images of that conflict, particularly of the suffering of the civilian population, have left a profound impression on the conscience of the Italian people and of the whole international community. It was therefore with feelings of deep satisfaction and relief that we learned yesterday that a Peace Agreement had been initialled in Dayton. This is a historic event, and we wish to express

our gratitude to those who worked to promote it, particularly the United States Government and Mr. Holbrooke personally, whose extraordinary diplomatic skills played such an important part.

Now we must take advantage of this crucial development to consolidate the prospects for peace. We must not lose the momentum gained in Dayton. We believe that the Peace Agreement should be quickly signed in Paris and that the upcoming London Conference can help to create the basis for the economic reconstruction of the former Yugoslavia. In fact, Italy feels that economic rehabilitation and development are essential components of the general process of pacification and reconciliation, a process that will necessarily be long and complex, given the deep wounds left by the conflict. Italy, which convened a meeting in Rome last October to discuss this subject, is ready to make a significant contribution for this purpose, together with its partners in the European Union.

Italy is one of the sponsors of the two resolutions adopted today by the Security Council. They are closely tied to the Agreement signed in Dayton yesterday, and they must be viewed in that perspective. The resolution on the arms embargo against the former Yugoslavia provides for a phased lifting of the embargo. For us, what is particularly important is its linkage with the Agreement on Regional Stabilization, reached by the parties in Dayton and included in the Peace Agreement as Annex 1B. This is an essential instrument for preventing the lifting of the embargo from turning into a new arms race, which would inevitably threaten to rekindle a conflict that has finally ended.

The resolution to suspend sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is an important step towards full reintegration of that country into the family of nations. In recent months, particularly during the past weeks in Dayton, the Belgrade Government has made an important contribution to the positive outcome of the negotiating process. Today's resolution recognizes this positive role and encourages Yugoslavia to continue in this direction.

As for the Bosnian Serbs, the suspension of sanctions against them is made dependant on the withdrawal of their forces behind the zone of separation established in the Peace Agreement. Moreover, the termination of sanctions depends on the holding of free and fair elections — an important provision, since it points to the full restoration of democratic rule at a crucial moment in the implementation of the Peace Agreement.

I wish to emphasize the importance of urging the successor States of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reach an agreement on the problem of succession to that State, including the distribution of its funds and assets and the allocation of its liabilities. Only an agreement of this kind can allow, among other things, a final and satisfactory solution to the question of the frozen funds and assets of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

I wish to conclude by emphasizing the importance of firm respect for human rights throughout the former Yugoslavia. This is an absolute condition for a full normalization of the situation in a region so close to us. In this context, my country strongly appeals to all the parties affected by today's resolutions to collaborate with the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, whose activity we consider indispensable to healing the wounds of the past.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish at the outset to express my delegation's satisfaction at the results of the recent peace talks on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The initialling in Dayton, Ohio, of the documents that constitute its legal structure marks a significant step forward. It consolidates the process that perhaps began to take clear shape with the cease-fire and gives us grounds for hope that lasting peace can finally be established in the Balkans.

The suffering civilian population of that area can now dream of a violence-free future that will allow all their children to live in diversity, with respect for each other's dignity and rights.

My delegation wishes to express its deep appreciation for the work for peace done by the Contact Group, especially by the United States, as well as that of the troop-contributing countries and their valiant and noble personnel. All those tireless efforts have produced the results I have just described.

In particular, with respect to the indefinite — and, for now, conditional — suspension of the economic sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and, as appropriate, of those on the Bosnian Serbs, I wish to stress that sanctions have on this occasion proved their effectiveness; they have shown that they can be a valuable instrument, as envisaged in the Charter, for the international community to persuade those against whom they are directed to pursue the objectives of peace sought by the international community through this Organization.

While, as has been said, the work of the Security Council sanctions Committee established by resolution 724 (1991) does not necessarily end here, as has been mentioned, I wish to draw attention to the tribute in operative paragraph 9 of today's resolution to all those who worked tirelessly with us to make the sanctions regime effective. It was precisely this shared and coordinated endeavour that made the sanctions effective.

As Chairman of the sanctions Committee, I have had the opportunity daily to witness the dedication of all those with whom I have worked directly and indirectly. As a result of that dedication, the difficult task entrusted to us has been performed to date in a satisfactory manner.

We must now quickly study and amend the existing operational guidelines in the light of the resolution that has just been adopted. This will not be easy, either, since certain important questions remain to be answered. For example, we must decide what policy to follow with regard to the ongoing investigations. But I have no doubt that between us we can, with due diligence, agree on answers.

It is vital, at least for the time being, to maintain the Committee's monitoring capacity, in particular that provided by SAMCOMM, whose cooperation, in my view, will continue to be necessary, at least for the foreseeable future. For all these reasons, I appeal for the understanding of those ultimately responsible to ensure that this cooperation continues for as long as necessary. I take that for granted.

Our last thought on this issue is for the people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose daily lives — as usually happens — have for long been gravely affected by the burden of sanctions. Their leaders were certainly responsible for that. Now that the correct course has been set, the people must strive to avoid any backsliding or deviation from the cause of peace. In that way — and only in that way — will the sacrifices made assume their proper significance.

I wish to say a few brief words on the resolution ending — again, conditionally for now — the embargo on arms and military equipment imposed by resolution 713 (1991). My comments are addressed specifically to those responsible for the decisions that will need to be taken on this issue in the future. May God give them eyes to see that progress towards peace will be strengthened if they resist the temptation to enter into an arms race, with all its destabilizing effects, and if they commit themselves sincerely to the arms control and reduction efforts provided for in the agreement initialled in Dayton. I hope they will understand that at this time the best thing to strive for is the greatest possible degree of disarmament for all.

While the tragic violations of humanitarian law in the region are still fresh in our minds — events that we have witnessed with disbelief or horror — we must continue our efforts to replace armed violence with peaceful dialogue and atrocities with mutual respect. Coexistence involves not only preserving the identity of others, but also benefiting by them and maximizing the mutual enrichment that is always the reward of life lived in diversity.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like, through you, Sir, to welcome His Excellency, Mr. Muhamed Sacirbey, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina. My delegation would like to say how much we share his feelings at this historic moment which his country has just gone through.

My delegation would also like to convey its congratulations to the United States of America on the occasion of the peace agreement among the various parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the same time, my delegation would like to congratulate these various parties for having agreed to make concessions and, thereby, to put an end to four years of fratricidal warfare, rife with crimes against humanity. "Ethnic cleansing" was beginning to become such a widespread practice that everyone was becoming more and more reluctant to speak about it, even in resolutions of the Security Council.

My delegation is particularly gratified that these agreements are putting an end to a war in which innocent people have suffered, particularly women, children and other people who were not directly involved in the hostilities. What happened in Bosnia, as well as what happened in my country, Rwanda, is a lesson from which the world and all of us should learn. It is a lesson in humility for mankind, because what happened in this country is evidence of the fact that this can happen anywhere in the world. This type of crime knows no boundaries; nor is it peculiar to any one society.

The second lesson impresses upon the international community the need to do everything possible to combat crimes against humanity, and also the fact that this is a battle which must begin in the Security Council.

We are delighted that these two resolutions will now make it possible for a balance to be struck among the various forces involved. After the end of the Second World War, appropriate machinery was created in order to handle conflicts, in order to avoid such events — events which were similar to the two nightmares which humanity experienced at the beginning and in the middle of this century. But the generalized historical amnesia which prevailed after the Second World War, nationalist interests, and the thirst for power leading to the creation of zones of political influence simply undermined all these hopes.

After having broken out of the deadlock in the negotiations regarding the division of territory, the maintenance of peace will no longer be a question of territorial claims, but rather a question of political will on the part of the parties concerned.

The embargo imposed upon Bosnia-Herzegovina is in many respects similar to that which is now inflicted upon the current Government of Rwanda. We are very pleased that it has been lifted, and it is our hope that this will bring about a balance of forces which will make it possible for better understanding to prevail in the region.

My delegation is confident that henceforth the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as well as the Russian Federation, will have sufficient leeway to consolidate the peace thus restored and that they will assume stewardship for stability in the region.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Oman.

It gives me great pleasure to preside over the work of the Security Council at this historic moment when we are meeting today to consider the situation in the former Yugoslavia, after the signing of the Peace Agreement at Dayton, Ohio.

It has been more than three years since hostilities broke out in the area of the former Yugoslavia — a war that resulted in the deaths of more than a quarter of a million people, in millions of refugees and displaced persons, as well as in massive violations of international humanitarian law.

This meeting of the Security Council, which is held in connection with the Peace Agreement reached at Dayton, Ohio, yesterday, 21 November 1995, between the parties to the conflict, is no doubt a historic one indeed. And for its achievement, we sincerely hope that the peace agreement and its annexes will be implemented in good faith by all the parties. We believe the area will now have a chance to avoid being haunted by war and killings, and that the region will enter on the path of peace and normalcy — elements that have been missing for some time.

All along, Oman believed in dialogue and political solutions to settle problems and resolve differences — not only in the area of the former Yugoslavia but in all areas where conflicts do exist. In the area of the former Yugoslavia, the warring parties have at last realized this fact, and have also realized that violence produces nothing but bitter experiences. Military solutions cannot establish nations — especially peace-loving nations.

Oman commends the special and exemplary role played by the United States of America in bringing about this agreement and making it a reality. Nor can we fail to commend the role played by the Russian Federation, the European Union and the complementary role of the United Nations on the level of the proximity talks held at Dayton, Ohio.

This Agreement, with its annexes, is not, in our opinion, an end in itself. It is rather a first step in the direction of peace and normalcy in the area of the former Yugoslavia. The days to come will be a testing-ground for the intentions of all parties, an opportunity for them to translate their commitments into a working and genuine reality. In this connection, my country attaches great importance to the question of mutual recognition of all States in the region, to the preservation of their territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence, within their internationally recognized borders — a step we see as consistent with the recently reached Peace Agreement.

Today Oman joins others in voting in favour of two important resolutions: one that suspends all measures imposed by, or reaffirmed in, various relevant Security Council resolutions relating to the sanctions on the former Yugoslavia, and the other resolution relating to the lifting of the arms embargo imposed by resolution 713 (1991). We are happy to be a member of the Security Council at this point in time. We believe the international community, the Secretary-General and the United Nations peace-keepers have done commendable work and deserve our appreciation, especially for their relentless efforts in trying to help the parties to resolve their differences and to minimize the humanitarian difficulties. It is now in the hands of the States in the

region to work together for confidence and peace in order to alleviate the suffering of their people. They bear the full responsibility for building upon the Peace Agreement and bringing the region a step closer to stability.

The days to come will be crucial in harnessing peace in the former Yugoslavia. We believe that unreserved cooperation from the parties is important in making it possible to save succeeding generations in the Balkans from the scourge of war.

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded its voting procedure.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Brazil, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Valle (Brazil) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Muhamed Sacirbey.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): This day — the day of the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina — should have come much, much sooner. If it had, peace would also have come earlier — at a lower cost to the international community, its principles and its most prized institutions; at a lower cost to justice and, most important, at a lower cost to the thousands — the millions — of Bosnia's victimized.

But this is not just a lesson of history. We must, today, look forward and secure the means to safeguard the Peace Agreement reached in Dayton yesterday.

Weapons in the hands of the victim will not be used to correct yesterday's wrongs, but rather to deter a resumption of the aggression and crimes. Yesterday's wrongs and crimes must be redressed by the institutions of law and justice, in particular the International War Crimes Tribunal.

However, the defence of tomorrow's peace will ultimately be left to the Bosnians when all the negotiators have turned their attention elsewhere and the foreign peace-keepers have left our country.

By securing Bosnia's capability to defend itself, we also lessen the qualitative, quantitative and durational commitment for foreign peace-keepers. This is one of the most significant objectives of equipping the Bosnian defensive forces.

In concert, we do also place our hopes in regional disarmament. However, assuming the highest standard of commitment to disarmament and cooperation from our neighbours, the Bosnians would still have to increase the number and quality of weapons to produce the goal of regional balance.

We are prepared to do our part for the cause of peace and commit ourselves not only to our defence but to those standards which will in fact increase stability in the region.

We will be in Bonn.

The sanctions regime with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is a self-inflicted wound. Ours is not. None the less, we wish them a quick recovery. We also look forward to the improvement of mutual relations.

We should, however, make sure that it is understood that this is only a reprieve and not an exoneration. Failure to fully honour the peace, its implementation and our sovereignty and territorial integrity will result in the immediate reversal and re-imposition of sanctions.

Suspension of sanctions is only one step necessary for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to be brought back, fully, into the family of nations. Sanctions cannot be fully terminated until the Peace Agreement is fully implemented.

Moreover, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must reverse its current course and exhibit a commitment to respect the national and minority rights of the people of Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina. This should go hand

in hand with the introduction of compliance with human rights and democratic standards in all of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Finally, the commitment to peace and justice — a new page turned — can only be ascertained from the willingness of both Belgrade and the Bosnian Serbs to comply fully with the international war crimes Tribunal.

No sanctions can be lifted until such compliance is committed to and exhibited. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot be admitted as a Member of the United Nations and other relevant international institutions until there is such compliance. This is the minimum that we can do to support the efforts of the Prosecutor, Judge Richard Goldstone, the Tribunal Justices and others associated with the war crimes Tribunal at The Hague. Less would be betrayal.

Bosnia and Herzegovina will not betray justice and the opportunity for real, durable peace dependent upon this elementary piece of justice.

The last thing that we ask of the Council is that it commit itself also to the same. After all, we and the countless forgotten victims as well as the new generation yearning for real peace deserve this minimum after having been disappointed on so many other occasions.

On a more personal note, sitting here today and during the last few critical moments of bringing the Dayton talks to an end, I reflect on the many who are affected or who have affected this outcome today and the Peace Agreement reached yesterday.

I reflect upon the past and present members of the Council from Ambassador Diego Arria, the former Permanent Representative of Venezuela, to Ambassador Albright, who fought nobly to free the hands of the victim and I also note my special appreciation for the solidarity and statement of support that we received from the victims of genocide in Rwanda through their Permanent Representative in the Council.

We also think of the many United Nations peace-keepers and persons from non-governmental organizations who sacrificed, sometimes even their lives, to minimize injustice while more decisive measures were awaited year after year. We think of the three martyred American diplomats. We think of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina still in their homes and we could all see their expressions of joy and commitment to peace as they celebrated the news yesterday.

At the same time I worry that the thousands of refugees and displaced persons and the victims of crime may feel that they have in fact been abandoned as well as forgotten.

I pledge — we must pledge ourselves — to ensure that the right of refugees to return does in fact become a real opportunity to return; that justice is not only evoked but secured by supporting the War Crimes Tribunal. I hope to God this is a real comfort to the victims lest our souls be damned.

I note that the Jewish survivors of the holocaust were able to look forward only by knowing that their tormentors would be pursued by the most unforgetting justice indefinitely in the courts and in our common historical recollection.

And a moment of horror is now upon me. What about the hundreds, maybe thousands, of victims, still missing, who were recently rounded up around towns like Banja Luka, confined to concentration camps and forced to labour until death overtakes them? What of the two missing French pilots? Have these living ghosts even heard of the Peace Agreement? Will it make any difference to them? Will they survive to rejoice?I ask all representatives to labour for their safety and for our mutual salvation.

And, finally, to our former enemies we offer one word: "Peace".

The President: I now call on the representative of Croatia.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of November and to express our gratitude for your understanding and cooperation regarding the circumstances related to one of the draft resolutions before us.

I should also like to extend my congratulations to the delegation of Nigeria for the exemplary way in which it guided the work of the Council during the month of October.

Croatia warmly welcomes the Dayton accords that were initialled yesterday. They become valid pending

expected mutual recognition among all successor States of the former Yugoslavia next month. We firmly believe that with these accords, and imminent mutual recognition, we have overcome the biggest policy obstacle to a lasting and just peace in the region once and for all. All of this was achieved because the Council's sanctions regime against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) fulfilled its intentions, because the joint Croatian/Bosnian offensives and later the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention created new realities on the ground, and thereafter, because of the new leadership role assumed by the United States.

My Government has always called for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of this kind for the region as a whole. In fact, we have for years argued that NATO is the only institution that can impose peace in the region and provide a lasting and stable environment that will render belligerence expendable and reconciliation and economic reconstruction profitable. Thanks to the leadership of the United States and the efforts of the European Union and the Russian Federation, we have now finally been able to achieve both a negotiated settlement and an implementation force that promises stability but also envisages remedies for the horrible crimes of a sort recorded only during the darkest days of history.

The Dayton accords were a compromise for all parties, but we firmly believe that Croatia made the largest compromise. We have foregone two days of war for one year of patience. The Dayton accords have offered us many promises and commitments. We believe that they were made with the parties' full intention of carrying them out. About 125,000 non-Serb Croatian citizens, who have been "ethnically cleansed" in a most brutal way in the occupied Vukovar region since 1991, would never forgive us if they were still displaced or refugees one year from now — if those commitments had been made in vain.

Croatia's compromises for peace, when it clearly could have chosen another option, demonstrate once more its long-standing commitment to a policy based on peaceful resolution of the conflict. Almost four years of utmost patience under less than promising circumstances, prior to our recent short but credible appliance of force, also demonstrate our commitment to peace.

I must also add that precisely these short but credible actions by Croatia made the Dayton accords possible. Who can dispute the fact that only four months ago the Bihac safe area was on the verge of being overrun, that Europe was about to be faced with another 200,000 Bosnian refugees, and that the moral conscience of the world was about to be shaken by a possible repeat of the Srebrenica massacre in Bihac? The balance of power established by the Croatian Army should secure peace and stability in the region for a long time to come, but only if NATO and the international community now fulfil their promises and commitments to both Bosnia and Herzegovina and to Croatia. The problems in both countries will need to be addressed with the same instruments and with equal vigour. The occupied Vukovar region of Croatia should be no more and no less important than the occupied parts in Bosnia if we are to have just and lasting peace in the region.

Furthermore, often unprecedented scrutiny and outlandish criticisms of Croatia, especially by some delegations in this Chamber, should come to an end. Clearly, over the past four years Croatia has played a substantially constructive role in the region. It has provided solutions — not problems. For instance, its strategic and humanitarian assistance to the politically supported but effectively abandoned Bosnian Muslim community, has regrettably never been acknowledged by this Chamber.

My Government supports the draft resolutions now before us. It hopes that the draft resolution on sanctions relief will send a message to the Serbian people that the world is not against them, as they have been told by their leaders. The sanctions regime was a just and necessary mechanism to have those leaders accept responsibility for the ills they brought upon other people and their own ethnic kin in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Regarding paragraphs 5 and 6 of that draft resolution, it is Croatia's understanding that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) would be prevented from transferring and using common funds of all successor States of the dissolved Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until an agreement on succession and distribution of common assets has been reached among all successor States and approved by the Council. Any unfreezing and misuse of funds by Governments and international financial institutions could potentially nullify the succession negotiations, and worst of all, the whole peace process. The best way to eliminate this risk is for the Council to act immediately and endorse the existing succession and asset distribution agreement proposed by the European Union and the Russian Federation.

Further, Croatia hopes that the draft resolution lifting the embargo will achieve its goal of maintaining a balance of power in the region, and not become a source

of new instability. In that regard, Croatia calls for prudent use of the draft resolution, within a broader framework of collective security arrangements in Europe.

My delegation especially welcomes the imminent adoption of the third draft resolution related to the Dayton accords — the draft resolution that endorses the Basic Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium, and reaffirms that these areas are integral parts of Croatia. The Basic Agreement was among the first accords achieved in Dayton, and set the pace for the later accords that completed the so-called package arrangement for the region as a whole.

That resolution is needed to establish the necessary technical framework for defining the new implementation force for Croatia. The force should be established as quickly as possible. It should have an active mandate under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, with clearly defined military and civilian roles, as called for in the Erdut Basic Agreement and the preceding Erdut Principles. The Council has both of these documents at its disposal, and can consult both as it begins its consideration of the issue. The two documents, both of which are equally valid, will eliminate any misunderstandings or lack of information. We emphasize this point, given the discussion and the questions brought up by the members of the Council following the briefing last Friday by the Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg. The Basic Agreement did not need to be more specific when the Erdut Principles were so clear. For example, the Erdut Principles leave no ambiguities about the structure of the transitional authority and the new police force. They eliminate the legal and security vacuum in the occupied Vukovar region by reinstating Croatian law, social and utility services, and border controls throughout the region. They call for the timely return of all displaced persons and refugees to their homes prior to local elections in the region. They require that the region must be demilitarized in 30 days. The only missing elements that still need to be decided upon are related to the economic reconstruction package for the region, especially the demolished city of Vukovar, and the division of responsibility between the military and civilian components of the new transitional implementation mechanism.

In this regard, we must keep in mind that the mandate of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) expires in nine days. My Government has made it clear that UNCRO's mandate cannot be extended, not because we do not trust the United Nations, but because the Organization could not fulfil its two mandates while operating under Chapter VI of the Charter. The situation in Croatia requires a Chapter VII mandate that can only be realized through regional arrangements.

While the present UNCRO mandate will end on 30 November, existing UNCRO resources can remain in Croatia as a nucleus for the new implementation force. The Belgian and Russian battalions could be quickly reinforced by the United States battalion, so that the most important element of the Basic Agreement, the demilitarization of the region, can commence immediately.

My Government is of the view that a large and expensive force is not needed. Rather, what is needed is a proactive and robust force that can implement the demilitarization requirements immediately, and quickly turn over the remaining elements of the mandate to the civilian administration. We look forward to continuing United States leadership in this regard, not only because the United States is trusted by both sides in the region, but also because of its commitment to utilize all elements of the peace process, including the credible threat and use of force. Following demilitarization, the emphasis should be on the role of the civilian sector in the reconstruction and confidence-building aspects. Again, this part of the mandate will require not a large force but a reasonable number of specialists and non-military professionals. My Government also supports the appointment of a United States national to lead the civilian part of the mandate as head of the Transitional Administration.

Finally, the new implementation force and the Transitional Administration cannot overlook still-relevant elements and the spirit of previous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, operative paragraph 12 of resolution 820 (1993) in particular. I should like to remind the Council that that paragraph is not related to the sanctions regime imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and now suspended. That paragraph simply supports the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia by allowing the Croatian Government to regulate all export, import and transshipment activity through its territory, and therefore it remains valid.

Needless to say, my Government will expect the Council, and thus the implementation force and Transitional Administration, to respect this important

element of sovereignty granted to all Member States by the Charter. Moreover, we are of the strong view that this element should be reflected in no ambiguous terms in future documents and resolutions on this issue.

The President: I thank the representative of Croatia for his kind words addressed to me.

In accordance with the decision taken earlier in the meeting, I now call upon Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic.

Mr. Jovanovic: The Peace Agreement initialled yesterday finally puts an end to the tragic and bloody four-year-old civil war and creates conditions for turning the dangerous crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina into a period of peace, stability and cooperation. This Peace Agreement is not a perfect one, something that can, indeed, be said of a great majority of the peace agreements concluded throughout history. It is a result of necessary and reasonable — although at times painful and difficult — compromises. All parties to the civil war and the Bosnian crisis have come to realize that an imperfect peace is better than a protracted and uncertain war and that only in peace can just goals be best achieved. Even though by this Peace Agreement a victory over war has been achieved, nevertheless a war for the implementation of the Peace Agreement provisions must be won and mutual confidence must be restored, as well as true stability and cooperation in the region.

It would have been best had the bloody civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina not been waged at all. It could have been avoided, had Ambassador Cutileiro's plan been accepted in time and had not one of the sides, encouraged from the outside, subsequently withdrawn its consent. The Yugoslav side, as is well known, had strongly supported the Cutileiro plan and solemnly expressed its readiness to recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent State after its completion. This most effectively contradicts all subsequent charges that Yugoslavia has had territorial pretensions against this former Yugoslav republic.

I have no wish to respond to the attacks and threats against my country put forward by the Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are in sharp contrast to the letter and spirit of the initialled Peace Agreement, and we hope that they do not announce a departure from the commitment to peace.

By putting an end to the war and crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a major step has been taken towards overcoming the crisis in the former Yugoslavia as a whole. However, that step alone is not sufficient. It is necessary immediately to end all other forms of war, which, throughout the crisis in the previous Yugoslavia, have been systematically waged against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb people as a whole. Media, economic, psychological and propaganda warfare against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb people represent an essential part of the war in Bosnia, and therefore with its ending they should also be eliminated. The cruel and comprehensive sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which have brought enormous suffering to the civilian population and economically crippled the entire region of south-eastern Europe, should immediately cease. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expects that its rights in the United Nations and other international organizations will be quickly restored.

By its active and consistent contribution to the process of negotiation and conclusion of the Agreement, as well as by the decisive acceptance of all previous peace proposals in connection with the Bosnian crisis, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has unequivocally demonstrated its commitment to peace and to overcoming the consequences of the four-year-old civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As was the case throughout the peace process, Yugoslavia will continue to be a reliable bulwark in the process of implementation of the Peace Agreement as well. We are confident that the Republic of Srpska will closely follow the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in its constructive approach to the Peace Agreement. We hope that other sides to the Agreement will do the same.

In that regard, a huge responsibility rests with the international community, particularly as embodied in the Security Council and the Contact Group. The international community should treat all sides to the conflict equally. Equality is an essential element of the Peace Agreement and a basic precondition if the Agreement is to be sincerely and fully implemented by all the sides.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expresses its gratitude for the hospitality of the Government of the United States as well as for the huge efforts that it and other members of the Contact Group have invested, efforts without which this Peace Agreement could hardly have been reached. The Yugoslav Government also wishes to express its gratitude to all members of the Security Council for their efforts

during the peace process which culminated in today's crucial decision.

From the outset of the crisis and the conflicts in the previous Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been consistently committed to the equality, freedom and dignity of all the peoples of the previous Yugoslavia. The fact that the secessionist Republic of Croatia decided to deny these rights to the Serb people led to their legitimate resistance against the new Croat regime. After Croatia's genocidal attacks on the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs), known as Sectors West, South and North, and the enormous suffering that led to the exodus of more than 200,000 Serbs from their ancestral homes, a Peace Agreement on the region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem (Sirmium) finally provides hope that the problems can be resolved without military means and in a peaceful, negotiated manner.

The Basic Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem (Sirmium) is of prime importance for the peace, stability and normalization of the situation and relations in the previous Yugoslavia and in this part of Europe. The Agreement underlines the predominant role of the forces of peace and reason in the peace drive and is an effort to use political means and compromise to solve the extremely complex problems created after Croatia carried out a unilateral and forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia in mid-1991.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia believes that the Agreement represents a solid basis for the full honouring and effective and lasting protection of the rights of the region's Serb population by ensuring it peace, freedom and equality.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is of the opinion that by placing the Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem region under a Transitional Administration, the Security Council and its members have taken on a lasting responsibility for the security of the region and for respecting the human rights, basic freedoms and welfare of all its inhabitants. Conversely, the Transitional Administration and the multinational forces should be responsible to the Security Council. It is quite evident that all the residents of the region should have equal rights, including all refugees and displaced persons from Krajina. It is imperative that the mandate, structure and organization of the Transitional Administration be in full accordance with the essence of the Basic Agreement and encompass the protection and full equality of all residents.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expects the Transitional Administration to take control of, and enhance, all existing public services and administration, because they enjoy the trust of the population. It is imperative that the proportionality of the ethnic structure of the region be maintained, both in the number of people employed in general and, especially, in the number in top-level management jobs. The principle of proportionality must be especially respected in the police and judicial system.

It is clear from the Agreement that the control of border crossings and the issuance of personal documents is under the jurisdiction of the Transitional Administration. The first regional elections must be free and fair and carried out at the regional, county and municipal levels, safeguarding the identity of the region. A council of municipalities with sufficient regional regulative power will have to be established, which would represent and protect the interests of the people of the region. It should be clear that the permanent presence in the region of the international community, as a guarantor of respect for the human rights of all residents, should be maintained even after the end of the transitional period.

The restoration of the confidence of the population of the region is a key element of the implementation of the Basic Agreement. For that reason, it is important to restrain any attempt or action that may interfere with the provisions of the Basic Agreement and hinder the process of its implementation.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Ukraine. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine): Since this is the first time I have spoken in the Security Council in the month of November, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Ukraine, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the most important and responsible post of the presidency of the Security Council. We believe in your diplomatic experience and skills and hope that they will help you to overcome successfully all the difficulties the Security Council could face in the performance of its duties.

Ukraine granted the initialling of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Annexes thereto with a feeling of deep relief and satisfaction, and the President of Ukraine today issued a statement in this connection. After

43 months of fratricidal war in the Balkans, the ordinary people — children, women and the elderly — finally have a chance to wake up in the morning without fear of being killed and to look to the future with well-grounded optimism. By initialling the provisions of the Peace Agreement, the leaders of the three Balkan States made a choice in favour of peace. In his statement on the Agreement, the President of Ukraine stressed that

> "its implementation may be reached only on the condition of the continuation of intensive negotiations and if all the parties back, by real deeds, their aspirations to peace".

Common sense and the logic of life have prevailed over the irrationality of war. We pay tribute to the courage and political wisdom of the Presidents of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, who managed to rise above the existing mutual mistrust, suspicion and feelings of revenge and frustration and take a step towards each other.

We cannot but agree with the words that Mr. Richard Holbrooke said yesterday in Dayton:

> "On paper we have peace; to make it work is our greatest challenge".

The delegation of Ukraine believes that the main responsibility for the further development of the peace process rests with the parties to the conflict. Without their political will, it will be impossible to make this process irreversible and break the vicious circle of violence in the Balkans. We hope that all of the parties to the Peace Agreement will faithfully honour the obligations they are going to undertake by signing it.

At the same time, we are convinced that the international community must contribute to the process of implementing the Peace Agreement. Ukraine supports the idea of deploying a peace implementation force in Bosnia and Herzegovina and will participate in its mission along with troops on the ground.

The initialling of the Peace Agreement is only the first step on the road to rehabilitation and renewal. This includes not only the rebuilding of the destroyed houses and factories, but also the restoration of confidence among the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ukraine is ready to join in the efforts of other States in reconstructing that war-torn country in order to contribute to the normalization of the lives of the ordinary people. We hope that the feelings of traditional friendship and mutual understanding that have always existed between the peoples of Ukraine and the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina will help us in this process.

In addressing the Security Council a few weeks ago, the Ukrainian delegation raised the issue of the suspension of the economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We are deeply satisfied at the fact that our confidence in the good will of its leaders and in their aspiration to peace in the Balkans proved to be correct and was again reconfirmed by yesterday's events.

The initiation of the process of suspending the economic sanctions will, in our opinion, contribute to the confidence-building process in the Balkans and give an additional, powerful impetus to the faithful implementation of the Peace Agreement.

The suspension and eventual lifting of the sanctions regime against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is an event of extreme importance. It will give a powerful incentive for the economic development of the neighbouring countries and to the re-establishment of the traditional economic links between the countries in the region. We are confident that peace will bring prosperity to all.

We believe that it is time to start the process of reintegrating the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the international community. The delegation of Ukraine hopes that all the successor States to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can arrive at appropriate and mutually acceptable decisions.

The delegation of Ukraine finds the tribute paid by the Security Council in the draft resolution to the neighbouring States for their significant contribution to the achievement of a negotiated peace exceptionally important from the political and moral point of view. Ukraine, as well as a number of other States, has suffered huge economic losses but has strictly observed the sanctions imposed by the international community.

The delegation of Ukraine has some doubts concerning the provisions of the resolution on the lifting of the arms embargo. At the same time, we understand that it is a part of a compromise reached by the parties that gives us grounds to support it. We would like to look at this decision of the Security Council in the light of the confidence-building measures and we hope that the

meeting on arms control in Bonn will make a military build-up in the region redundant.

The delegation of Ukraine wants to express its sincere gratitude and appreciation to all those who by consistent efforts and deep convictions, regardless of their despair, doubts and hesitations, went on until the end and finally succeeded. We pay a special tribute to the United States of America, the Secretary of State, Mr. Christopher, his assistant, Mr. Richard Holbrooke and his devoted team, to the members of the Contact Group, to Mr. Stoltenberg and Mr. Bildt, as well as to dozens of others who helped to bring peace to the region.

Let me remind you, Mr. President, of the words from the Holy Book — the Bible:

> "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God". (*The Holy Bible, Matthew 5:9*).

The President: I thank the representative of Ukraine for his kind words addressed to me. The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Celem (Turkey): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. We are confident that under your able guidance, the Council will successfully carry out its responsibilities. I would also like to pay a tribute to Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria for the remarkable manner in which he conducted the work of the Council in October.

Yesterday can become a historic landmark on the long and difficult road to peace which will put an end to the cruellest crimes against humanity since the Second World War. For almost four years now, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina have suffered enormously. We hope that the initialling of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the three Presidents in Dayton will end this suffering and pave the way for a just and viable peace. The process has begun. The commitments undertaken with this Agreement should be honoured with good will. The focus of the attention of the international community should now be put on the bona fide implementation of the Framework Agreement and the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders is, and will remain, vital for a lasting peace and for stability in the region. With this in mind, we welcome the Agreement initialled yesterday, and the resolutions just adopted. These resolutions will mark the beginning of the peace implementation phase.

Turkey remains committed to shouldering its share of the responsibility for a successful implementation of the Agreement. As a coordinator of the Assistance Mobilization Group established within the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and on a bilateral basis, we will actively participate in the rehabilitation and reconstruction work ahead. Therefore, we attach the utmost importance to the international conferences to be convened in the coming weeks. Turkey stands ready to take part in these conferences. We will contribute to the military and civilian aspects of the peace implementation. Preparations are under way for our participation in the implementation force.

As the President of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991, Mr. Antonio Cassese, underlined in his statement to the General Assembly two weeks ago, peace without justice is no peace at all.

I must emphasize once again that we fully endorse the following admonition of Mr. Cassese:

> "If there is to be a lasting peace, it must be accompanied by a sense of justice in the minds of all the citizens and in particular the victims of atrocities in the former Yugoslavia ... If at the end of a war torturers and their victims are treated alike, the war's legacy of hatred, resentment and acrimony will not have been snuffed out; rather, it will continue to smoulder. The existence of peace in such a climate would be precarious indeed." (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Fiftieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 52nd meeting, p. 12*)

Indeed, if peace is to triumph, justice must prevail. And only then can a climate be created in which the people can live and work together free from fear. We will continue to stand by the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their struggle for freedom and democracy.

The President: I thank the representative of Turkey for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran): Let me begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I would also like to pay a tribute to the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Gambari, for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the last month.

Today, the Security Council is, once again, considering the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Unlike its previous meetings on the subject, the Council has adopted today two important resolutions following yesterday's peace agreement in Dayton, an agreement that could, it is hoped, be the basis for the establishment of peace and tranquillity in the region.

Since the beginning of the crisis in the Balkans, we have witnessed the tremendous sufferings of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in dealing with foreign aggression. Numerous documents of the United Nations, as well as the television pictures of the horrors inflicted upon the Bosnian people by the Serbs, testify to the magnitude of the crimes. The rape, murder, mass killings, wanton destruction of properties and "ethnic cleansing" have been persistently practised against Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, the conscience of the whole world is wounded by the level of these atrocities.

That was the reason behind the establishment of the war crimes Tribunal for former Yugoslavia. Therefore, the world has the right to expect that, regardless of political considerations, the perpetrators of these grave crimes against humanity and the violators of international law will be brought to justice as soon as possible.

The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has always sought a peaceful settlement of the crisis and the achievement of peace and justice in that country, and has shown the utmost flexibility in the negotiations. Yesterday's Agreement proves once more the desire of the Bosnian Government to achieve a peaceful conclusion to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We share the sentiment expressed by Bosnians that, although the Agreement is not just it is a move towards preventing further bloodshed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that despite its many shortcomings every effort should be made to implement the Agreement, which, *inter alia*, guarantees the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina with a unified capital, and gives refugees and displaced persons the legal right to reclaim their homes or receive compensation.

What is needed now is supervision by the international community of the implementation of the Agreement in order to maintain the unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to restore lasting peace and security to that country. Events of the past have demonstrated that the Bosnian Serbs have not honoured their commitments. The Security Council has to ensure compliance with the Agreement and must immediately take the necessary measures in case of non-compliance.

An overwhelming majority of Member States have on numerous occasions called for the lifting of the arms embargo against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and have affirmed the non-applicability of resolution 713 (1991) to that Republic. Now, with the signing of the Ohio Agreement and its Annexes and the adoption of a new resolution by the Council on lifting the arms embargo, we hope that the defence requirements of the victim will be adequately addressed so that future aggression against Bosnia is prevented.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate the responsibility of the United Nations with respect to the operation of the international force to be dispatched to monitor the Agreement. We believe that the United Nations should have the final say in the operation, and that any arrangement in this regard should have the clear endorsement of the Security Council. Furthermore, the international force should embrace all those who are willing to offer troops to it.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Razali (Malaysia): The Malaysian delegation is very happy, Sir, to see you presiding over the Security Council, especially at this particular time, when the Council is taking very important decisions on the issue of the former Yugoslavia. My appreciation and respects are extended also to your predecessor, the representative of Nigeria.

The Malaysian delegation joins in the universal relief at the initialling of the General Framework

Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the parties and participants who worked indefatigably during the 21-day proximity peace talks deserve appreciation for their perseverance and for making the fateful choice for a chance for peace instead of sending soldiers back to the front lines.

The role of the United States has been pivotal to the outcome. Others too, including the Russian Federation, have made contributions. Malaysia has consistently maintained that a clear application of political and military resolve would force even aggressors to the negotiating table.

My delegation wishes to single out the courageous decision of President Alija Izetbegovic, who represents the aggrieved party and the victim of aggression, which experienced brutalization and devastation, the horrors of which remain a blot on our conscience. It takes monumental conviction and abiding faith to be able dispassionately to choose priorities and invest in a chance for peace instead of demanding redress and retribution. We pray that events of the months ahead will prove that that faith was justifiably placed, that the Dayton Agreement will be fully honoured and that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be able to embark on the long road to healing and reconciliation.

Important lessons have also been learned. Containment and ambivalence of policies, as well as uncertainties in the mandate coming out of a dominated Security Council, leading to a blurring of commitment to universal values, have resulted in untold tragedies. In the long term, the Framework Agreement provides opportunities to rectify and redress; to rededicate, to re-establish a commitment to values and to take steps to re-establish faith in the United Nations.

On paper, the Framework Agreement and all its Annexes provide a formula for the peaceful return to normalcy of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We note that the Annexes to the Agreement address important issues such as agreement on military aspects of the settlement, stabilization, boundaries, elections, the Constitution, human rights, and refugees and displaced persons, to name only some. At the same time, we note that certain critical issues have not been clarified. These include the arming and training of Bosnian Government forces so as to equalize force strength. Further, there is no provision to ensure safe and secure elections.

Neither the international implementation force (IFOR) nor the international police task force has been entrusted with this task, which therefore becomes the responsibility of the respective police forces of the entities. This vacuum in the enforcement of security leading up to, during and just after the first elections is highly unsatisfactory since it provides the opportunity for intimidation, duress and fear. Finally, the Dayton documents have sidestepped the obligation to arrest suspects and hand them over to the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia to be tried for the atrocities they have committed.

These concerns raise the question of whether the outcome of Dayton has served the cause of lasting peace and a just settlement. One can also ask whether "ethnic cleansing" has been legitimized and whether aggression has been rewarded, and whether the issue of crimes against humanity has been put aside. The full and timely implementation of the Agreement and its Annexes will help dispel these serious concerns.

The Council today has debated two relevant resolutions, one dealing with the arms embargo and the other with economic sanctions. The arms embargo must be lifted immediately to ensure that the Bosnians are adequately prepared to defend themselves, an inherent right recognized in Article 51 of the Charter. Malaysia continues to oppose the lifting of economic sanctions without verifiable actions showing that the Serbs are honouring their part of the Agreement. These two resolutions are important steps in the implementation of the Agreement.

The Council would also have to be involved in the implementation of the international force to be led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Council has also to decide formally on the future of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). In the consideration of the relationship between IFOR and the Security Council, it will be necessary to clarify all aspects of the issue, both military and non-military, political and humanitarian alike. Malaysia has conveyed to NATO its intention to participate in the international force. We expect specific details pertaining to the involvement of non-NATO forces to be resolved expeditiously. We cannot but emphasize the importance of the involvement of non-NATO forces, including those from countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), in securing the full and balanced implementation of the Dayton Agreement.

For those not part of NATO, we especially look to the United Nations to define its role as an overall authority for overseeing the full implementation of the Framework Agreement.

Of all the challenges confronting Bosnia and Herzegovina, the most immediate and fundamental is reconstruction — reconstruction of its economy and its infrastructure, as well as its society. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina must find reason to believe once again in the region in which they live and in a multilateral system and vehicle that will not let them down. We must help to ensure that it remains pluralistic and enjoys economic growth and social development. The Muslim community in Bosnia and Herzegovina must enjoy the right to development and to an environment free of coercion and threat.

It is equally important that the entity of the Republic of Srpska adhere to the spirit and substance of the Agreement and not attempt to undermine the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The international guarantees so necessary to ensure fulfilment of the Dayton Agreement must ensure that Srpska remains part of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Security Council cannot ignore the issue of succession. It is a complex issue with implications not just for the Balkan parties at Dayton but also for the parties that were not there. The issue of succession can be resolved only through negotiations, and not by any one party seeking to unilaterally assume the position of successor.

Finally, I want to reiterate that the international community must stand behind President Izetbegovic and the Bosnians as we try to give peace, however imperfect or fragile, a chance to take root.

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me, at the outset, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. We are confident that your sagacity and leadership skills will enable the Council to achieve fruitful results in dealing with the important and sensitive issues before it.

I wish also to pay tribute to Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

We witness today a historic development in the events of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country whose people and Government have suffered, for years, the agonies of a bloody conflict which has claimed many lives and caused tremendous material damage as a result of hateful military practices that aimed at achieving regional expansionist aims.

Today, the problem enters upon a new phase, a phase of transformation that has taken concrete shape in the initialling yesterday of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This development paves the way towards putting an end to this human tragedy. As we look forward to the final signing of the Peace Agreement in Paris in the first half of December, we should like to thank all the States that took part in sponsoring and supporting the negotiations, especially the United States of America.

Egypt has persistently emphasized, both in word and in deed, its support for the cause of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the right of this newly independent people to live in peace and security within the internationally recognized borders of its State and for the enablement of that people to exercise fully the rights of membership of this Organization.

Today we welcome the step agreed to by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have declared before that we shall accept and support all that the Government of Bosnia accepts. We hope that this step will lead to preserving Bosnia and Herzegovina as one State. We also applaud the Agreement's preservation of the special identity of Sarajevo as a unified city and a capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as Sarajevo is the symbol of peaceful coexistence of various ethnic groups. In this connection, we call upon the international community to contribute to the reconstruction efforts so that this historic city of Sarajevo may be restored to its former glory.

As I have just said, the signing of agreements is a very important step. However, we need to see practical implementation — true, bona fide implementation on the ground. Here, it is extremely important that all parties fulfil the international obligations enshrined in the Agreement and that they abide by the procedures that will have to be adopted to ensure its complete

implementation. In this respect, the delegation of Egypt wishes to underscore that the follow up of implementation should reflect the international community's commitment to the following: guaranteeing the voluntary return of all refugees, displaced persons and expelled Bosnians, to their homes, under international protection and with appropriate compensation; bringing all those responsible for the perpetration of war crimes to trial, so that others may be deterred from committing similar crimes in future; and according priority to supporting the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the rehabilitation and reconstruction process after the war, to ensure the return to normal life.

My delegation wishes to underscore the importance of enabling the Government of Bosnia to exercise its legitimate right to self-defence. Now that the international community is reconsidering the military embargo imposed by resolution 713 (1991), in stages, we believe that the issue of providing the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the means of defence that it was denied as a result of the embargo should be addressed, so that the balance of military power in the region may be restored, and, thereby, ensure mutual deterrence, on the one hand, and provide a practical means of building confidence between the parties facilitated, on the other.

Right from the start, Egypt has played its part in the international efforts in respect of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having participated actively in the United Nations Protection Force, we should like to take this opportunity to praise the men of that force — including sons of my country — for the role they have played over the past four years, under very difficult circumstances.

In this connection, we call upon all Member States, especially the more affluent, to contribute to the trust fund to be established to finance the participation of troop-contributing countries, not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in the United Nations Protection Force with a view to implementing the Peace Agreement in a balanced fashion. Egypt, which is not a NATO member, hopes to participate in that force in order to strengthen and support the implementation of the Peace Agreement concluded yesterday.

In conclusion, Egypt, proceeding from its commitment to its international role and as a member of the contact group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, hopes that the effective honest implementation of the Peace Agreement will restore peace to the Balkans region.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kamal (Pakistan): Since this is the first time I am addressing the Security Council under your presidency, Sir, let me congratulate you on the assumption of your high office. I am confident that, under your talented and able guidance, the Council will be able to fulfil its responsibilities successfully. I would also like to express my admiration for your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council.

We welcome the Peace Agreement signed between Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. On this occasion, we pay tribute to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have remained steadfast in the face of untold miseries and horrors inflicted on them. We hope that this Agreement will bring stability to all the States concerned. We also hope that it will guarantee once and for all the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the State of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This Agreement should facilitate a process for the return of millions of refugees and displaced persons to their homes in dignity and honour. We hope that the broader consideration of peace will not eclipse the effective prosecution of the war criminals. We hope that the international community will contribute generously to the reconstruction of the war-devastated economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Finally, we hope that this Agreement will bring smiles to the faces of millions of Bosnian men, women and children who have been victimized and traumatized by an unjust war.

The tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina unfolded before our eyes. After the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations, we deluded ourselves into believing that we had seen the last of the crimes of genocide and "ethnic cleansing". We thought, perhaps too complacently, that the forces of racism and xenophobia would never strike with the same ferocity as they had during the Second World War. Yet, in the full glare of the media and despite constant monitoring by the international community, the Serbian aggressors chose to exterminate a whole nation through "ethnic cleansing", aggression, massive killings and the most egregious crimes against humanity.

The holocaust in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an object lesson for international politics and diplomacy. It has demonstrated that the international community has to be constantly vigilant in stemming and actively opposing aggression. It has demonstrated that procrastination and prevarication in the face of aggression can encourage aggressors and pose an even greater threat to peace and security. It has also demonstrated that the United Nations, despite its evolution over the past five decades, does not quite have the capacity to handle such crises with the necessary speed, efficiency and effectiveness.

There is no doubt that the humanitarian interventions by the United Nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina were prompted by very noble intentions. Our actual performance, however, was marred by delay, infighting and indecision. While this was happening, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina were being killed by the score every day. We know that the United Nations was not apathetic to the plight of the trapped Bosnians. The fact was that it was given neither a strong mandate nor adequate resources to enforce collective security in the former Yugoslavia, in pursuance of the United Nations Charter.

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia has also demonstrated that, despite our experimentation with a democratic version of multilateral diplomacy, the major global Powers played the most crucial and decisive part in a meaningful progression towards the resolution of the conflict. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was literally hamstrung by a plethora of United Nations resolutions denying the Bosnians their right to collective self-defence and imposing a weak sanctions regime against Serbia-Montenegro. Only when the major Powers and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization decided to resolve the conflict through all means did we witness the first concrete steps towards a mitigation of the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Pakistan, along with many other countries, repeatedly urged that such robust military action should have been undertaken right at the outset. Had that been done, and had the unjust arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina been lifted then, perhaps the Agreement of today would have seen the light of day earlier and much pain, suffering and shame would have been averted.

The conflict in the former Yugoslavia has driven home another grim reality: that global Powers cannot subcontract their responsibilities to regional actors. Countries with a global outreach cannot afford to adopt an apolitical approach towards conflicts threatening regional or global peace and security. The erroneous belief that global security can be subcontracted to regional or subregional organizations is intrinsically flawed, as it implicitly presupposes that members of a particular region are roughly equal to each other in size as well as economically and militarily. In reality this is not so. The doctrine would benefit regional Powers, while smaller countries would be placed at a disadvantage. Some recent events would vindicate this view.

We feel that the United Nations will have to undertake a massive exercise in introspection and self-criticism to adjust to the new realities. The United Nations must find ways and means to activate its roles of mediation and arbitration for conflict prevention. Once a conflict has erupted, the United Nations should make strong interventions through the full use of peace-keeping and the enforcement of collective security.

Pakistan has always taken a principled position on the situation in the former Yugoslavia. The hearts of the people of Pakistan went out to a small nation in Europe battling against a frenzied aggression launched by the Serbs. It was a question of morality, of international law and of the very concept of peaceful coexistence. Outraged at the unbridled aggression, Pakistan extended unqualified moral and political support to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pakistan consistently demanded the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina to enable it to exercise collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. When the time came for facilitating peace, we offered our troops for peace-keeping in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that no nation should be victimized because of its small size. We feel that no peoples should be brutalized because of their ethnic origin. We believe that no nation should be denied its right to self-determination and its right to wage a legitimate struggle for its liberation.

This is a time for reconciliation now. This is a time for healing deep scars. This is a time for forgetting differences, and building peace for all people involved in the conflict. Some wounds, however, can never be healed. Some heinous crimes must not go unpunished. The principle of international prosecution, established and reaffirmed during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, should not be scuttled. Those responsible for inflicting grievous harm to hundreds of thousands of people must face the consequences of their crimes.

We, the people of Pakistan, will continue to stand by our Bosnian brothers and sisters, as we have

consistently done in the past. We shall continue to contribute to the success of peace-keeping efforts in Bosnia. We shall stand in support of the international community as the firm guarantor of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a test for our civilization. Our reaction was perfunctory and dilatory. Now that our hopes have been raised, we shall all be closely watching the actual process of implementation of the accords in order to sustain the momentum for peace. Let us also hope that we and our civilization will not be put to such tests again in future.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Owada (Japan): At the outset, I should like to express, on behalf of the Government of Japan, my gratitude for the opportunity given to me to address the Security Council on this historic occasion. I wish also to take this occasion to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November.

The appreciation of my delegation goes also to your predecessor during the past month, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for the excellent manner in which he carried out his responsibilities.

After four years of conflict, which has claimed the lives of 250,000 people and forced more than three million people from their homes, the groundwork has now been laid for a lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having repeatedly stressed that peace can only be achieved through negotiations, the Government of Japan finds it most gratifying that an Agreement has now been reached by the representatives of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to bring the conflict to an end.

Japan pays high tribute to all those who have been engaged in intensive negotiations, with patience and perseverance and in a spirit of compromise, to achieve this historic and long-awaited Agreement. I wish in particular to applaud the untiring efforts of the United States in bringing the parties concerned to the negotiating table and in organizing the proximity talks. Members of the Contact Group and other countries concerned, various international organizations, as well as the United Nations Secretary-General and the Security Council, have all played their indispensable roles in fostering the negotiating process, for which they deserve our sincere appreciation.

Hard as the negotiating process has been, the implementation of the Peace Agreement that lies ahead of us will be even more difficult. Indeed, the Agreement reached yesterday in Dayton, Ohio, is nothing more than the first step — albeit a crucial one — on the long and arduous road to the consolidation of peace. The restoration of peace and the future development of the region that was formerly Yugoslavia will depend directly on the full implementation of this comprehensive Peace Agreement.

The parties to the conflict must faithfully implement it. They must strive to build a new order which will foster the process of reconciliation among various ethnic groups and the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons. Moreover, they must cooperate fully with the efforts of the international community towards the implementation of the Agreement. We look forward to the formal signing of the Peace Agreement which is expected to take place shortly, and then to the meeting in London where the concrete implementation scheme will be worked out. This will be an extremely complex and delicate process. In particular, the successful implementation of the agreement will depend in no small part on the smooth deployment of the implementation force (IFOR). This is a task which the Security Council will have to supervise with utmost care.

As international efforts towards the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the region are undertaken, it is of vital importance that the respective roles of the various organizations involved be clarified, and that all civilian activities be coordinated. Furthermore, coordination between the implementation force and the organizations engaged in civilian activities, such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), is also essential.

Speaking at the General Assembly this past September, the Foreign Minister of Japan affirmed Japan's intention to cooperate, together with other countries concerned and relevant international organizations, in the rehabilitation of the region once the conflict is brought to an end. In his message yesterday to congratulate the parties on the successful achievement of the comprehensive Peace Agreement, the Foreign

Minister reiterated the intention of the Government of Japan to take an active part in the international assistance efforts for the region of the former Yugoslavia.

With regard to the resolutions which the Security Council has just adopted, Japan welcomes the resolution to suspend sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia indefinitely. It is an expression of the acknowledgement by the international community of the cooperative spirit demonstrated by that country.

As to the resolution to terminate the arms embargo, Japan, while endorsing the lifting of the embargo, is of the view that an unbridled inflow of arms into the region might run the risk of jeopardizing the durable stability of the region. For this reason, we might consider the possibility of establishing a system for the control of arms in the region.

In adopting these resolutions, the Security Council has demonstrated its desire to foster a consensual Agreement among the parties concerned. It has also challenged the parties concerned to remain committed to the peace process.

I wish to conclude my brief intervention by expressing the sincere hope of Japan that the leaders of the three countries will work steadfastly for the implementation of the Agreement, and will not be deterred from their task of ensuring that their people can look forward to living in peace, secure within their national borders. I wish to assure them that their efforts will have the full support and assistance of the entire international community, including my own country.

The President: I thank the representative of Japan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Morocco. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Snoussi (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to address the Security Council on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of which my country holds the presidency, on the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

First of all, Sir, I should like to extend to you my sincere and fraternal congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and also pay tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for his commendable efforts last month when exercising that function.

The tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina broke out at the end of the cold war and with the emergence of the beginnings of a new world order which we were all hoping would be just, equitable and tranquil and in which all States would be working finally towards progress and the prosperity of their peoples in understanding and harmony.

This almost unprecedented tragedy in history has left the country devastated and brutalized by four years of war, in which 400,000 people have been killed, 2 million people have lost their possessions, 100,000 women have been raped, and hundreds of thousands of people have endured inhuman suffering, torture, concentration camps — all because they professed a different religion.

We express our deepest sympathy to all the victims and their families. We want them to know that their tragedy will forever be a blot on the history of mankind because it constitutes an outrage to our collective conscience.

We are recalling these grim facts because we want to reaffirm the Islamic community's commitment to the principles of tolerance and peaceful coexistence in mutual respect for cultural, moral and religious particularities. The intrinsic value of the human being, whatever his origin, prohibits us from taking the path of exclusivity or indifference, and still less that of exclusion and rejection.

The Islamic community throughout the world has followed the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina with compassion and solidarity — sometimes even with repugnance — at the international community's helplessness and powerlessness in the face of the massacre and genocide of a people deprived of the means of defending itself.

There are those who deemed the efforts of the United Nations to restore peace to this region and its humanitarian assistance to refugees as timorous gestures, lacking the firm resolve to put an end to the suffering of the Bosnian people and the impunity of the Serb aggressors.

Because of our profound desire to see this conflict peacefully resolved, we, like all other observers, were hanging on every word of the news bulletins about the negotiations at Dayton, which we followed with a

mixture of hope and concern. And so the announcement of the initialling of the Dayton Agreement last Tuesday put our fears to rest and strengthened our optimism, because this Agreement undeniably constitutes a perceptible breakthrough and a decisive step forward which gives us grounds for hope that peace in this region is finally within our grasp.

The Islamic community takes particular pleasure in this Agreement because it is designed to bring about an honourable peace which will guarantee to Bosnia and Herzegovina its independence and its territorial integrity and make Sarajevo its unified capital, while instituting the necessary proceedings against the Serb war criminals and ensuring their appearance before the International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia.

The tireless efforts of President Clinton and his Administration to keep these negotiations moving at a satisfactory pace are admirable. Without his persistence and unshakeable determination, this Agreement, which the most optimistic among us did not expect for months, would never have been concluded. We must also emphasize the contribution of France, the United Kingdom, Germany and the Russian Federation and express our gratitude to them.

I ask all those who were the architects and who crafted this peace, particularly the United States, to accept this expression of our gratitude and thanks, as well as the gratitude and thanks of all peace-loving men and women.

Indeed, the arrangements provided for in the Agreement, notably the multinational implementation force, the cantonment of the forces of the parties, the withdrawal of heavy weapons and the freeing of prisoners of war, will, I am sure, initiate a process of irreversible peace which, we hope, will make it possible for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina to live together again in tranquillity and mutual respect.

We are convinced that all the conditions now exist for thwarting the saboteurs who are still trying desperately to challenge the application of the Peace Agreement. But we must remain vigilant and firm if we are to prevent the separatists from carrying out their aim of torpedoing the process, as they have done in the past.

Forty-three months of pitiless and relentless war have left the country morally traumatized and materially in ruins — a country which we must all help to feel again the pleasure of a peaceful life — pleasures which are just a dim memory in minds still haunted by cruelty and barbarism.

The international community must take the opportunity of the peace conference to take place in Paris next December to mobilize all its efforts and join forces to consolidate this emerging peace and transform it into lasting prosperity in order to stanch the bleeding wounds of our Bosnian brothers and sisters.

Indeed, we must devise and put rapidly into effect an ambitious plan for the rebuilding of infrastructures and the restoration of public services, in order to restore confidence to refugees, to displaced persons and to the other citizens and, above all, to convince them that peace has truly come to stay and is no longer a mere mirage in a desert of despair.

Today, the Security Council was called upon to take concrete measures to implement the Dayton Agreement, measures relating to the economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and the Bosnian Serbs, and to the arms embargo imposed on the Bosnians.

In this regard, we believe that the Council's action must be placed within a framework of vigilance and firmness, to deter those who are nostalgic for a certain grandeur and to encourage those who want finally to live in peace.

Hence, the Security Council must bring to bear all its weight and all its authority to promote peace and stability in that part of the world by supporting the process which has just been so fortunately initiated in Dayton.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a warm and sincere tribute to the courage and farsightedness of all those who have contributed to the conclusion of this historic Agreement, which we welcome.

The President: I thank the representative of Morocco for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I first of all, on behalf of my delegation, say how pleased we are to see you, Sir, presiding over

the Security Council this month and in particular over this historic meeting of the Council.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia associate themselves with the content of this statement.

Since the beginning of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, the European Union has spared no effort in the search for a lasting solution through negotiation, and it was among the first to try to help alleviate the terrible suffering of the civilian population.

For this reason, the European Union is particularly pleased at the initialling in Dayton, Ohio, of the Peace Agreements by the Presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We urge the parties to sign the Agreements at the Paris peace conference, which will mark the end of the negotiations and the beginning of a process of stability and good neighbourliness for the entire region. The ratification and fulfilment in good faith of the Peace Agreement will be to the benefit of the peoples that have suffered the horrors of war for almost four years.

The peace remains fragile and needs to be consolidated. The bases for mutual recognition between the States that have emerged in the territory of the former Yugoslavia have been established. The two resolutions on the suspension of sanctions and the phased lifting of the arms embargo, just adopted by the Security Council and supported by the European Union, will, we hope, lead to those States' normalizing relations with each other and with the rest of the international community.

The implementation of the agreements' provisions concerning regional stability and arms control and the holding of free and fair elections are crucial for these efforts. In this context, the European Union gives its full support to the request addressed to the parties concerned to assist in locating the two French pilots missing in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to ensure their immediate and safe return.

The wounds must be stanched, and together we must make peace last. The human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rights of persons belonging to minorities must be strictly respected throughout the former Yugoslavia. The parties must also cooperate with the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

The right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in safety and to recover their property or, in any event, to receive fair compensation must be guaranteed. The perpetrators of violations of human rights and of the norms of international humanitarian law must be held responsible for their acts. That is the only way to put an end to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

Many aspects still remain to be resolved. The multinational force to monitor the implementation of the agreements in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the region of Eastern Slavonia must be deployed as soon as possible. The civilian aspects of the peace plan will have to be implemented and the enormous task of reconstruction begun, particularly in the most affected areas. The European Union hopes that the issues relating to the succession of States in the former Yugoslavia will also be speedily and constructively resolved.

The European Union remains steadfastly willing to make its contribution and to participate, together with other countries and organizations, in the work of reconstruction. In this regard, the European Union will give its full support for the success of the forthcoming London conference on the implementation of the Peace Agreement and that of the conference of donor countries to be held in Brussels.

In any event, the parties must bear in mind that it is up to them to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of conflicts. The assistance of the international community will be fully effective only if it can rely on the firm political resolve and cooperation of the parties.

I would like to conclude by paying tribute to the negotiators, who, with their dedication and enthusiasm, made the Dayton agreements possible; to the parties, for having finally opted for peace; and to the women and men of the United Nations and other international organizations who, sometimes by sacrificing their very lives, have helped to mitigate the tragic consequences of these conflicts and have laid the groundwork that has made possible this moment of hope that we are experiencing today.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Karsgaard (Canada): On behalf of my delegation, I would first like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November. We are confident that the affairs of the Council are in capable hands. I would also like to pay tribute to the representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

It is with a sense of its historical significance that we finally use the word "peace" today when addressing the situation in the former Yugoslavia. We sincerely hope that yesterday, 21 November 1995, will be remembered as the day that finally put an end to the immense human suffering that has ravaged the former Yugoslavia for the last four years.

Canada warmly welcomes the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, initialled yesterday in Dayton, Ohio. Together with the other agreements signed in Dayton to resolve the status of Eastern Slavonia in Croatia and to strengthen the Bosnian Muslim-Croat federation, yesterday's peace accord establishes a strong framework for future relations between the States of the former Yugoslavia.

Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Mr. André Ouellet, yesterday congratulated the parties on their achievement and urged them to continue to work constructively with the international community in a spirit of cooperation and flexibility in implementing the peace plan.

We would also like to underline Minister Ouellet's thanks to the American, Russian and European Union negotiators, who did an outstanding job in balancing the aspirations of the parties on a wide range of constitutional and territorial issues, and, in particular, we would like to register our appreciation for the unique and determined leadership of President Clinton and the Secretary of State of the United States, Warren Christopher, in facilitating this peace process. We would also like to pay tribute to the untiring and dedicated efforts over a long period of time of the United Nations negotiators, who helped bring the parties closer together.

We now need to look at the next steps necessary to consolidate this historic Agreement and to ensure its full implementation. The London, Paris and Bonn conferences will be key in this regard, and Canada looks forward to participating in their deliberations.

The success in Dayton has demonstrated that sanctions can have an important effect. We support the suspension and lifting of sanctions within the context of the Peace Agreement.

Re-establishing peace and stability in the region remains a major Canadian objective. We welcome the agreement of the parties to establish a regional arms control regime with the assistance of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). We urge the international community to exercise restraint in arms transfers and to ensure full transparency. We encourage the States of the former Yugoslavia to contribute data annually to the United Nations arms Register.

The Peace Agreement marks the end of the war in the former Yugoslavia, but it also marks the beginning of a long process of reconstruction and rehabilitation that will require our concerted efforts as well as the unflagging commitment of all the parties so as to ensure a lasting peace in the former Yugoslavia.

The President: I thank the representative of Canada for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Biørn Lian (Norway): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November, and to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, for the excellent manner in which he discharged his duties last month.

After almost four years of bitter warfare, the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina may at last be able to enjoy peace. Norway welcomes the fact that the parties to the conflict have finally decided on a negotiated settlement. We sincerely hope that this will bring an end to the tremendous hardship that the civilian population in the region has suffered, the thousands of deaths and the millions of refugees and displaced persons.

The Peace Agreement initialled by the three Presidents at Dayton yesterday is a historic breakthrough after more than three years of intensive international mediation efforts. The United States Government deserves great praise for seizing the initiative and pursuing the negotiations with determination to a

successful conclusion. Norway would also like to stress the key roles played by the European Union, by Russia and by the United Nations with its mediator, Thorvald Stoltenberg, in achieving this result.

We now have peace on paper. The challenge will be to put it into practice. The common task of the international community is now to secure and strengthen the fragile peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Norway therefore supports the three draft resolutions submitted to the Security Council today. The Basic Agreement on Eastern Slavonia, the suspension of sanctions, and the gradual lifting of the arms embargo in the context of the Agreement on Regional Stabilization and arms control are important steps in the process towards normalization of relations between the States in the region and the international community.

Norway will continue to play a significant part in the international efforts to ensure the return of peace and normalcy. Since the beginning of the war, Norway has been one of the largest contributors to the United Nations operations in the former Yugoslavia. Today, we participate with close to 1,000 personnel on the ground, three quarters of which are serving in the Nordic peace-keeping battalion in Tuzla. Several Norwegian non-governmental organizations have engaged in considerable efforts. We are contributing a major portion of the drivers and trucks carrying humanitarian aid to the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have so far provided a total of $160 million in humanitarian assistance and plan to provide another $70 million for 1996. We intend to contribute about 1,000 Norwegian troops as part of the multinational force, led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which will be deployed to monitor implementation of the Peace Agreement. And we will contribute to the enormous and urgent reconstruction work which lies ahead.

But the main responsibility for achieving peace and stability lies with the parties themselves. Ordinary citizens in the area are longing for a return to normalcy. The responsibility lies largely with their political and military leaders. We therefore strongly urge the parties to demonstrate their willingness to contribute to the process by implementing the Agreement in good faith. This means, among other things, that the parties must ensure respect for fundamental human rights and rights of minorities, they must allow refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes, and they must cooperate with the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

Finally, I would like to pay a tribute to the negotiators, peace-keepers, aid workers and all the other women and men who have sacrificed so much, in some cases their lives, to make possible the return of peace to the former Yugoslavia.

The President: I thank the representative of Norway for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Slovenia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Türk (Slovenia): I wish to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. Let me assure you that we believe that the Council will be successful under your wise and competent guidance.

We would also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

Slovenia wholeheartedly welcomes the conclusion, at Dayton, of the Peace Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). We commend the United States for its crucial role in the efforts to resolve the crisis in the Balkans, and for the decisive contribution to the peace process which has resulted in the initialling of the Agreement for peace. We urge the parties to sign the Peace Agreement and thus open the way to the establishment of peace and stability.

In a statement made earlier today, the Foreign Minister of Slovenia, Mr. Zoran Thaler, emphasized the following:

> "We hope that the Dayton Agreement will be brought to life and will, as soon as possible, produce practical effects which will put an end to four years of bloodshed and devastation and will bring peace to the crisis areas.
>
> "Slovenia continues to insist that Bosnia and Herzegovina must be preserved as a single State and that its territorial integrity be respected.
>
> "Slovenia wishes the situation in its vicinity to stabilize and the life of people to be brought back to

> normal in conditions of respect for territorial integrity, internationally recognized borders and human rights. Slovenia is also prepared to contribute, to the best of its abilities, to the stabilization of political, social and economic life in the crisis areas."

Efforts now should be devoted to the establishment of durable and real peace. Peace is not merely the absence of war. It requires that the right steps be taken throughout the process so that normal life is restored and that justice prevails.

Two important measures among the series of steps towards peace were adopted by the Security Council today: first, the suspension of sanctions and, secondly, the lifting of the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 713 (1991) more than four years ago. We are confident that we shall have the opportunity in the Council to address various issues related to the establishment of peace, at the appropriate stages. On this occasion, we would like to make a few comments on the resolutions the Council has adopted.

Let me first address the resolution on the suspension of sanctions *(resolution 1022 (1995))*.

In the ninth preambular paragraph of that resolution, the Security Council reiterates that

> "the State formerly known as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ... has ceased to exist".

This is an important element of the resolution. It states a basic fact and a basic principle, upon which practical solutions can be sought with success.

The dissolution and extinction of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has affected the disposition of the assets of that former State, as is accurately mentioned in the ninth preambular paragraph of the resolution.

Obviously, with the suspension of sanctions, we are about to enter an important stage in this matter. It is crucial that this suspension does not apply to those frozen assets that are the common property of the former State. These assets are subject to succession by all successor States and should accordingly be divided among them. Therefore, all necessary measures should be taken to prevent the unfreezing of these assets and their use to the benefit of any single one of the successor States. This issue is addressed more specifically in operative paragraphs 5 and 6 of the resolution on the suspension of sanctions.

Slovenia officially requests that the respective authorities of all States Members of the United Nations consider, first, all assets of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), including any of its subdivisions, as well as those of its agencies, including the National Bank of Yugoslavia; and secondly, the assets of the entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the Government or any governmental agency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as assets on which the Republic of Slovenia, as one of the successor States to the former Yugoslavia, has a legal and legitimate claim.

In this context, we wish to stress that we agree with the interpretation of paragraph 5 of the resolution provided in the explanation of vote of the representative of the United States.

We urge all States to consider these assets frozen, in accordance with operative paragraph 5 of the resolution, until a final resolution regarding the distribution of these assets and liabilities is reached by the successor States. Any unilateral disposal of the relevant funds will force the Republic of Slovenia to take appropriate legal steps to have any such transactions declared null and void.

Finally, I wish to stress that we disagree with, and shall oppose, any interpretation that would limit the meaning of the term "claims" — used in operative paragraph 5 of the resolution — only to claims raised in current legal proceedings. Such a limited interpretation would harm those who are negotiating the issues of State succession in good faith and could indeed have a very negative impact on negotiations on the issue of State succession in the future.

The second resolution addresses the issue of the termination of the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 713 (1991) four years ago.

That embargo has been one of the least fortunate measures taken by the Security Council. It was originally imposed on the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was then still in existence and a Member of the United Nations. It was maintained after the dissolution of that former State, without any consideration for the specific situation of each of the successor States. It has

been an example of a measure that produces harmful effects because of its indiscriminate and across-the-board character. The time has now come for a radical change.

Slovenia welcomes the resolution on the termination of the arms embargo. It is focused on the situation of those successor States of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that are parties to the conflict and signatories of the Peace Agreement. This is a wise approach, and the concept of gradualness is correct in this context. The link between the final lifting of the arms embargo with respect to the signatories of the Peace Agreement and the implementation of their arms control agreement contained in Annex 1B to the Peace Agreement, is justified. We hope that these measures will contribute to peace and stability and will strengthen confidence among the parties to the Peace Agreement reached at Dayton.

On this occasion I wish to reiterate that, as far as Slovenia is concerned, the arms embargo imposed by resolution 713 (1991) has been unjustified throughout. Slovenia, an independent, sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations, is at peace. We are at peace with ourselves and with our neighbours. Slovenia has not been, and is not, a party to any military conflict and has never had a peace-keeping mission established on its territory.

Furthermore, Slovenia considers that the arms embargo in question is rendered utterly obsolete in view of the development of cooperation on security matters in Europe, in which my country participates as a responsible partner. Slovenia has participated in the Partnership for Peace from the beginning and has developed an extensive network of cooperation with most European and many other countries. In these circumstances, the application of the arms embargo represents an impediment to our international cooperation and a totally unjustified limitation of our sovereignty.

Let me therefore, in conclusion, state the following formally and on the record: Slovenia is satisfied that the Security Council today adopted a resolution that is terminating the arms embargo imposed by resolution 713 (1991), and we expect the immediate termination of the arms embargo as far as Slovenia is concerned.

The President: I thank the representative of Slovenia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Malesky (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): Allow me, Sir, to congratulate you on your election as President of the Security Council for the month of November and to share with you and the members of the Council our joy and deep relief that the Balkan war is over.

The Government of the Republic of Macedonia welcomes the success in Dayton, Ohio. The signing of the Peace Agreement between the leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia puts an end to nearly four years of bloodshed that took many lives and caused vast destruction.

My Government commends the Government of the United States of America, which demonstrated in practice that when the leading Power gathers the will to lead, the others will follow. We wish also to commend the efforts of all the members of the Contact Group.

But even after the end of this war, fought in the name of "ethnic purity", the Balkans remain an ethnically mixed region where State borders do not follow ethnic lines but cut across them. That is why today, celebrating the end of yet another Balkan war, we are confronted with the same old dilemma: how to live in peace with our neighbours and with the minorities inside our States. Once again, the question of security in the Balkans becomes a question of democracy, tolerance, pluralism and cooperation inside and between States.

The alternative continues to be the most brutal and senseless military conflict humanity is experiencing today — ethnic wars. It is up to the peoples of the Balkans to make the choice — and this time the Bosnians, the Croats and the Serbs have made the right choice in Dayton.

The President: I thank the representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): At the outset, my delegation would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I have no doubt that

under your eminent leadership, the Security Council will discharge its responsibilities in a most successful manner.

My delegation welcomes wholeheartedly the success of the Dayton conference, which will pave the way for the widespread conflict in the Balkans, unleashed nearly four years ago, to come to an end. With the landmark agreement reached yesterday, my delegation believes that a definitive step has been taken — away from the bloodshed and suffering that have plagued this region and towards the beginning of a foundation for peace.

It is due to the exceptional diplomatic initiative and steadfast resolve of the United States and the other members of the Contact Group, as well as the forward-looking attitude of the three parties concerned, that this feat which, in the darkest hours seemed like a pure impossibility, has been achieved. The Republic of Korea joins the international community in expressing its solemn appreciation to these parties for their efforts in reaching the comprehensive settlement.

My delegation also takes this occasion to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and its peace-keepers, both military and civilian, whose immeasurable contributions to the peace efforts in the former Yugoslavia have helped fulfil the goal of restoring peace and security.

My delegation is fully aware that the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, initialled yesterday in Dayton, Ohio, is the first, important phase on the long road to peace in the former Yugoslavia. We hope that the spirit of compromise, reconciliation and tolerance which first brought about the Agreement will continue to flourish so that it may be faithfully implemented after being formalized in Paris next month.

In this regard, my delegation sincerely hopes that the Agreement will open up a new era for consolidating the prospect of peace and stability in the Balkans through the full cooperation of the parties concerned. Moreover, my delegation believes that the prompt action of the Security Council to suspend the economic sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to lift the arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia is indeed timely and appropriate. The role of the Security Council in the implementation of the Dayton Agreement is indeed paramount in the consolidation of peace in that region.

Despite the geographical remoteness of the former Yugoslavia, the Republic of Korea firmly believes that it is an area with far-reaching implications for the peace and stability of the world. The international community bears the moral obligation to extend its fully-fledged support to help bring the conflict to an end by turning peace on paper into a genuine peace in deed.

Furthermore, the four-year conflict has taken a severe toll on human lives. With a quarter of a million lives lost and many more people uprooted from their homelands, the community of nations must cooperate to provide urgently needed humanitarian assistance and prevent further violations of human rights. The multitude of people who have been forced to leave their homes should be allowed to return to their place of origin in safety.

My delegation believes that one important aspect of the Agreement is that of the provisions which ensure that war criminals will not be allowed to hold any elected offices. This should serve as a stern lesson to would-be perpetrators of crimes against humanity and peace. It is incumbent upon the international community to guarantee that crimes, such as "ethnic cleansing", do not go unpunished.

My delegation also believes that for all its weaknesses and shortcomings, the Agreement is the product of real compromise and mutual concession by all the parties concerned and, therefore, it is crucial that the international community should encourage the parties to the conflict to implement the agreement in a most faithful manner.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to reassure the Council that the Republic of Korea, a nation which itself suffered a devastating war a half-century ago, will do its share in contributing to the implementation of the Dayton Agreement as a responsible member of the international community.

The President: I thank the representative of the Republic of Korea for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Londoño-Paredes (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to address the Security Council on behalf of my Government, in its capacity as President of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. May I, first of all, congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of this important organ for the month of November.

The Presidency of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries welcomed with satisfaction the announcement of the Agreement concluded in Dayton, Ohio, which makes it possible to achieve the long-awaited peace in the Balkan region. The attainment of peace has been one of the Movement's most serious concerns. Furthermore, many of its members have worked actively and in different ways to achieve it. It is now our hope that the Agreements reached will be completed and, in particular, that they will be implemented properly so that peace may at last be restored where bloodshed and barbarity have prevailed. The Presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement wishes to pay a tribute to all of those who gave their lives for the attainment of peace and to the countries of the Contact Group. In particular, we express appreciation for the efforts made by the Government of the United States to achieve this success, which is also that of the entire international community. We will be vigilant and attentive to ensure that the aim and goal of the Agreement — the attainment of a lasting and stable peace in the region — may become a reality.

The President: I thank the representative of Colombia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): I wish to begin, Sir, by expressing the satisfaction of the delegation of Brazil at taking part in this debate under your able presidency. Your diplomatic and personal qualities have earned our respect and deserve recognition. Let me also congratulate Ambassador Gambari for his outstanding work as President for the month of October.

We wish to add our voice to that of the rest of the international community at this moment of renewed hope for peace in the war-torn Balkans. The successful outcome of the negotiations creates the conditions for the opening of a new chapter in the relations among all peoples in the region after almost four years of violence and destruction.

As hundreds of thousands lost their lives and millions were displaced, successive diplomatic attempts to bridge differences through peaceful means met with intransigence and defiance. An outraged world looked on with dismay at the atrocities, while its faith in the capacity for dialogue and understanding among nations was eroded, precisely when conditions seemed most favourable for the establishment of a new partnership world wide.

As we welcome this important occasion, my first thoughts go to the innocent civilians and the brave peace-keepers who got caught in the crossfire, as well as to all the victims of the massive human rights violations associated with this heinous conflict. The initialling of the Peace Agreement in Dayton, Ohio, would not have been possible, however, without the leadership provided by the United States Government in bringing the parties together. Special acknowledgment is due in this context to the role played by President Clinton and Secretary of State Christopher. Their whole team is to be congratulated on their sense of purpose and their perseverance.

Many others also deserve credit for their untiring efforts in the search for solutions to a complex and unprecedented situation for which existing diplomatic instruments seemed insufficient and conventional wisdom inadequate. I must take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of the Brazilian Government for the crucial role played by the United Nations, and in particular by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, in handling the gravest of the crises of the post-cold-war era.

The challenges faced by the Organization in the former Yugoslavia have been enormous and the frustrations bred by the involuntary involvement of a peace-keeping operation in armed combat have been many. It is undeniable that without the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and its successors the humanitarian catastrophe in the region would have reached even greater proportions and the conflict might have spread even further.

Throughout the conflict, Brazil remained firmly committed to the achievement of peace in the Balkans and stood behind efforts directed at avoiding escalation and at promoting an agreed settlement, including through participation in UNPROFOR. Our belief in the possibility of harmonious and democratic coexistence between peoples of different ethnic and religious backgrounds is

firmly rooted in our own experience. We continue to show readiness to contribute to the strengthening of the peace process in the Balkans along the steep road that must still be climbed if the promises of Dayton are to be translated into a better life for all in the region.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.